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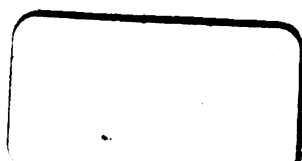
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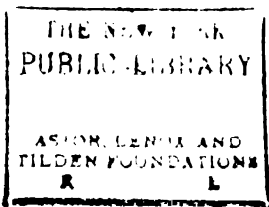




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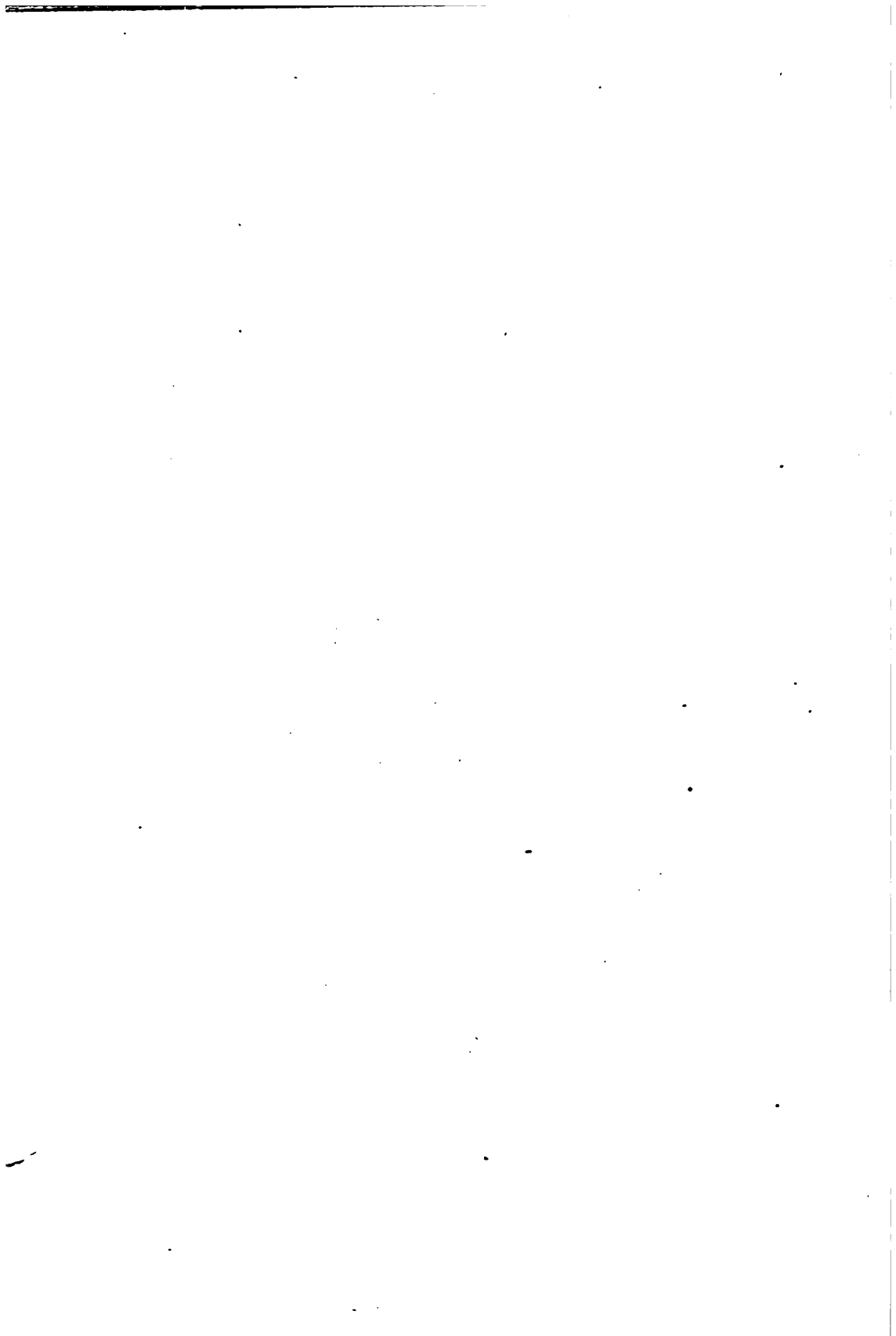
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HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT
XXVTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES



The Life of

THEODORE
ROOSEVELT

Twenty-fifth President of the United States

BY

MURAT HALSTEAD

Author of "*The Life of William McKinley*," "*History of the War between the States*," "*Story of Cuba*," "*Story of the Philippines*,"
etc., etc., etc., etc.

Profusely Illustrated

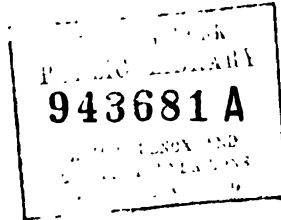
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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

IT is a pleasure to say the author of this book has found the material for it of extraordinary interest. The President's ancestors may be traced in events for many generations. Their records are of authenticity, and their reputations, honorable. There is ample information of the families of Theodore Roosevelt's father and mother. On both sides they appear in public affairs with distinction, with a spirit of adventure and of generosity, in works of charity, and enterprises of integrity and usefulness.

The sources of information consulted and quoted, yield history at every step of investigation, and the first surprise is that with less than twenty-five years of manhood, the President has done so much, and that his good labors are so many and varied. His work as an Assemblyman in New York, was greater than that of any man of like years and opportunities. He earned his winnings in every field. It is but twenty-five years ago that his courage and ability gave him rare prominence in state legislation and national politics; and before he sought the Wild West as a new world, he was a man of reputation, broad as the country, and biographical material appears in public records—those of the Assembly and of Conventions—an attempt to grasp the municipal government of the City of New York, that failed because his competitors for the Mayoralty were Abram Hewitt and Henry George.

He had hardly reached manhood, when he was a competent writer of history, and he is to-day the most reliable of the historians of our wars with England, of the early celebrities of the City of New York, and of the Winning of the West, a work that would make him famous if he had done nothing else conspicuous. He told the world how the Great West became the heart of our country. His education in public trusts was in the Civil Service Commission of the Nation and the Police Commission of New York. No more difficult tasks could have been selected, and while his success was imperfect, his impressions upon the situations were those of marked improvement, indelible and indestructible. He became an enthusiastic toiler in the Navy, and his works there were excellent and most apt. He put the fighting edge on the American warships. Then came his war service in the Army, with an element of power that he chiefly discovered or invented and exclusively

applied. His reports, letters, testimony before boards, would crowd many volumes with matter of value, before the great office of Governor of New York was placed in his hands, and his personal record in that position is told in his volumes of public papers, one for each year he held the high office. The history of the country will not be written again without many references to those admirable books and liberal quotations from them. His speeches and orations as Vice President, and his twenty-two thousand mile journey through twenty-two States, appealing to the people wherever the combat thickened in 1900, closed with the vindication of New York through the courage and power of the Governor of the State, and her contribution to a national victory.

Through this immensity of public care and political experience, Mr. Roosevelt was an unwearied workingman in literature. There are twenty volumes to his credit, all making known our country to our countrymen, not only the great game animals of America introduced to Americans, but appreciation of our resources made known to the world, and a higher intelligence of them familiar to the people at large.

The light of the lamps that reveal the experiences of the past, will guide us aright in tracing the footsteps and following the example of the President in the future.

THE PUBLISHERS.

PREFACE.

THIS is not to announce a purpose entertained, but a work done. The writing of the Life of Theodore Roosevelt, XXVth President of the United States, is a fact accomplished. There runs through his history the strong lines of defined purpose, and the clear logic of fixed principles. The task of statement has been made easy by an interest in the subject, that has increased at every step. It seems to one who has for months been a student of the successive chapters of the President's career, that his countrymen have not yet appreciated the extraordinary scope and remarkable fitness of his representative character, in the circumstances of his country, for the responsibility placed in his hands by the people under the Constitution. No man who has been called to the greatest office of a Republican form of Government, has exceeded him in the excellence of his education for it. The favors of fortune in youth would have permitted the indulgences of leisure, and united the blandishments of effeminate gentleness, or impassive lethargy; but he found his pleasure in energetic endeavor, and added to the advantages of the schools, the iron-clad resources of self-made manliness, gained in the "strenuous life," that he sustained by precept and example.

His progressive labors were joined to each other, and their ruggedness conformed to symmetrical lines of endowment. The details of his rise to leadership would suggest a regular course of culture for public duty, and illustrates the degree with which the will of man has its way, straight through the entanglement of accidents, if he is indomitable. His appearance in the New York Assembly, and as a Senatorial Delegate to a National Republican Convention, resembles the solution of a very intelligent young man in pursuing preparatory studies for a course of politics, with the intention of taking, by practical attainment, exceptionally high degrees. Whichever way his footsteps tended, there were always permanent traces of them. He never lost and was always gaining ground. It is a saying of lawyers, there is "one point in a case." Napoleon and Nelson did not strike the array of their foes, ashore or afloat, with random purposes. They had the far-reaching vision of genius. There was added to it prescience and painstaking. They made it a business to

know why, when and where to deliver the blows that aimed with accuracy were driven home, like iron wedges with all the thunder strokes at command.

Where Theodore Roosevelt walked, he made straight roads, and where he rode there remained highways. In school at Albany in the Assembly, as at Cambridge classified in Harvard, he moved into a higher class, wherever he changed his situation. In the Bad Lands he ascended an elevation, from which the whole continent was visible. There were two other courses of study to take before entering the departments of armed nationality—the Civil Service and the New York Police Commissions.

The shifting of Presidential terms by Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison, gave to Roosevelt the opportunity to give a practical inauguration to civil service reformation. Mayor Strong's municipal administration placed the militant civil service reformer at the head of the police of the great misgoverned city. This had the attraction of antagonism, but the fetters of incapable legislation had to be worn. The most considerable gain was the knowledge that provided utilities for the future. Repeatedly, thus far, Roosevelt had been equally happy in the offices he held and the dates and occasions, when he had taught himself their lessons, of quitting them.

The further evidences that the tide that bore him was rising were still more exemplary and effective. He was Assistant Secretary of the Navy long enough to prepare it for war, and sprang ashore to reveal the great and until then undiscovered secret of our military power—the finest cavalry in the world, the Rough Riders—and dismounted cavalry though they were in Cuba, he had them at the front in the only fighting on land, and there was "glory enough to go around."

The war ended, our army was snatched from Cuban fevers, and recovered health on Long Island. Roosevelt left Cuba, as he left the Assembly, the Civil Service Commission and the Police Commission, at the right time, and made no personal mistake, for he bettered at every change his opportunity to serve the country. He set the fashion of doing the right thing at the right time, in the right way, and pushing things with a rush never relaxed. The war over, he was called to be Governor of New York, and in that office made an illustrious record, in which we read the precedents of the Presidency. Then, as now, the enmity of his foes complimented him no less than the praise of his friends. When he was Governor there was an effort to "limit" him, and he made transiently a mistake, thinking he ought to take another term of the great State office, but was over-ruled by an irresistible public demand that he should accept the second office in the National Government. Happily, he did that.

So far as careful examinations of his public papers, as Governor of New York, were made, they prepared readers for his magnificent message to Congress; one worthy the country that the McKinley policy of peace and war

has raised to the rank of a World Power second to none, with the promise of soon becoming foremost of all.

There need be no comparison, for there is no competition in reputation, between President Roosevelt and his predecessor. Their public utterances in the first week of September last, if there was nothing else to quote by mutual friends, would forbid contention.

That our Government should move on without a jar, after so fearful a tragedy as that of McKinley's murder, that our system should automatically provide for the succession reassures ourselves and impresses the world with the stability of our institutions. That "we, the people of the United States," are fortunate to have President Roosevelt, to give confidence after a misfortune so shocking, this volume contains the ample proof in his official acts and public writings. He is the personification of the great and greater Americanism. The riches of the material for intelligent if inadequate presentation of his life and character, have been a source of surprise and gratification. The embarrassment is that of riches that can not be counted. It is full of general usefulness and profound public interest. The story of the Republic from day to day is of surpassing splendor and strength. The life of Theodore Roosevelt has been an admirable education for the task in his hands. He so comprehensively represents all the people, that even as the past is secure, in prosperity and honor, there is no land so fair as this in promise.

T. R.—2

MURAT HALSTEAD.

INTRODUCTION.

NEVER, excepting when there was war impending, was a President's message to Congress received with the profound attention given the communication from President Theodore Roosevelt, by both Houses and the people of all the States, December 3rd, 1901. It is remarkable for breadth and elevation, precision of statement, care and courage in recommendation, and of unusual bulk, but the length of it was not noticed because there was no space lost—no words not full of meaning, no passage that was obscure.

In matter the message was comprehensive and particular, in manner, the excellence of simplicity, the eloquence of information; and in literary merit it is excelled only, in Presidential papers, by John Adams and Abraham Lincoln. It impressed the country that the President is a man of very high class of ability, to persuade and to command. The readers of his histories and of official and other public addresses and orders, issued when Governor of New York, knew this; and that the strength and splendor of his style and variety and solidity of his substance have been increasing with his years and the gravity of his labors, and that the books he wrote in his boyhood were of surpassing promise.

The message makes its mark as of high tone and firm touch, with here and there the gleam of pure gold in the rocks, with which the President is a builder. It comes home to the people by their firesides and lighted lamps, that he is the representative man of the great North American Republic in the momentous movement taking place to a greater nationality, that exceeds anything in our history—a current so deep and wide that though swift and irresistible, it is calm, flowing from an exhaustless source to an immeasurable destiny.

The Southern section of our country, under the weight of the peculiar and unhappy institution of slavery, was never tractable to personal force or public urgency. All the people were in some sense responsible for the inertia of the society that sustained it, and retarded the general development of the public at large. This inherited and anomalous force, sheltered in the States, gave rise to the habit of magnifying the distinction and asserting the practical independence of localities. It flattered and augmented the

"sovereign State" sentiment, until at last it came in conflict with the preponderance of the Union itself, and long held in check the paramount character of the Nation.

This obstruction to the expansion and consolidation of the essential unity of the land, has passed away, but the lustre of the stars that are the symbols of Statehood, is not diminished, and the constellation brightens as it expands and ascends. While the stars differ in glory, their attraction to each other makes the many One; and that one the firmer in unity, because they differ, and, surely as the sun, have their spheres.

In the grand old song of "Columbia" to glory arising, it was told that "Ages on Ages" would her "splendors unfold," and the present age more than all. Our stars in their courses may join in the songs of the mornings, for certainly as the earth has become a neighborhood of nations, they are the greater because the inventions man has found quicken and cheapen, and make certain and safe transportation all around the world, diffuse through the continents and climes the news for all men of the days and hours that pass, centralizing power and magnifying the World Powers, at last forming out of whatever diversities homogeneous peoples, who may dwell together in unity.

Until now never has there existed such an exponent of the national idea and policy of the people of the United States as President Roosevelt. His experiences in all sections, his knowledge of the great cities and the lands where there is still great game, and infinite undeveloped resources, his Eastern houses and Western ranches, his Northern and Southern ancestry, have exceedingly well equipped him for the position he holds.

Naturally, rightfully, the policy of his Administration is more gigantic within and beyond our borders than any other President has proposed. He seeks to confirm our military by the increase, not of the bulk, but in efficiency, and promotes our commercial and mechanical extension, that exalts as it moves. The army not enlarged, is to be made by discipline and equipment more effective; the navy is to be largely augmented, and the Isthmian Canal constructed as a work of urgency. Altogether, the policy is the potency of expansion combined with the convenience of consolidation and the increase of usefulness.

While we grasp steadfastly the islands that are ours, we take up a great policy, one of the grandest the world has witnessed, of restoring the forests that savages have burned, and to use the mountain reservoirs, the artesian wells of the plains and the pumps that the winds work that we may redeem to wholesomeness the deserts that at the heart of the country are stricken as with a disease. At the same time, the McKinley doctrine at home of giving labor our own markets, is supplemented with reciprocity, and the

Monroe Doctrine over our borders in the Americas is invested with the magic of American protection and sustained by the magnetic guardianship of our prestige.

We are preparing for our fortunes as a World Power, from the centre all around to the seas, salt and fresh, North and South, East and West, so that we stand in command of the continent that is to be the axis of the evolutions of our progressive growth. Four square, and all around, we confront all the winds that come and go on errands with messages, while the waves and tides of our imperialism of liberty, rise and fall at our feet.

This book is the History of the Life of the extraordinary man at the head of our National Government, with ideas broad and high as become the stature of the Nation and the purposes of the people whose increase is without example, and prosperity one of the world's wonders, and for whom there is provision of incomparable resources for them.

The endeavor in these pages is to recite and illustrate groups of events that he has influenced to indicate the logic of his life, and that the current of his career is consistent with the growth, glory and freedom of his country, and means peace and the extension of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, as far beyond the dreams of Thomas Jefferson, as the purchase of the land from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean for this Nation, exceeded the early ambition of the English Colonies of the Atlantic tidal waters.

THE LIFE) OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

CHAPTER I.

THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY.

Holland and Huguenot Stock—President's Grandfather, Explorer of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers on the First Steamboat That Navigated Them—His Father's Public Spirit and Philanthropy—His Mother of a Historical Family in Georgia—The President's Family at the White House—Ages of His Children.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, XXVth President of the United States, was born in the old family residence, 28 East Twentieth Street, New York City, October 27, 1858. When the great war of the sections and States was over, he had not reached his seventh birthday. The names of the battle-fields, and all the meaning of the war, came to him as the story of a cause lost by one branch of his ancestors, and gained by the other. His father was of the Empire State of the North, and his mother from the Empire State of the South.

The grandfather of President Roosevelt was Nicholas J. Roosevelt, son of Isaac Roosevelt, who was a member of the New York Provincial Congress, the legislature of the City Council, and President of the Bank of New York. Nicholas J. Roosevelt was born in New York in 1768 and associated with Robert Fulton in the invention and introduction of steamboats. Fulton said of him that he was noble-minded and intelligent and he would be glad to do anything for him that was in his power. Mr. Nicholas J. Roosevelt lived eighty-seven years. He was the representative of promoters of steamboats in the City of New York, who made a survey of the western rivers, including the Ohio and Mississippi, to ascertain whether steamers that had been moder-

ately successful on the Hudson would be suitable to navigate the great western waters.

There were many novelties in navigation, to those familiar only with tidal waters, and they were full of dangers; among them the rise and fall of the rivers, the caving in of the banks of the Mississippi, filling the flood with snags. A great number of trees were undermined and stranded in the channel. These difficulties were found formidable in future enterprises, but Mr. Roosevelt reported favorably as to steamboats on western rivers, and built, at Pittsburg, the first that appeared in the waters of the Mississippi valley. He made his way with it to New Orleans. It illustrates the courageous temperament of the family that his wife regarded the voyage as one that would be agreeable, and not only accompanied him, but took all their children to enjoy the adventure. An embarrassment of steamboating at the time was that no fuel could be had to raise steam unless the men on the boat went ashore, chopped the green trees and carried the wood aboard.

The only landings were those used by keel boats and flat boats; but the voyager, Roosevelt, discovered coal in the banks of the Ohio, near the mouth of the Tennessee, and provided himself with fuel for the complete voyage, indeed loading the steamer with it. It was this large supply of the power of raising steam that saved the boat and passengers, because it was their fortune to be on the Mississippi and in the neighborhood of New Madrid when the memorable 1812 earthquakes occurred there. These were far the most violent and protracted phenomena of shaking and rending the earth that ever happened in the North American Continent. Tremendous cracks opened and swallowed forests. Through a great region were rifts from four to ten feet wide of immeasurable depth. There was considerable loss of life, though the country was sparsely populated, and the log cabins were admirable contrivances for saving the people. There was nothing in the walls to crumble. Fallen trees bridged the fissures made by the shakes, so that they were crossed without difficulty. The enormous agitation of the central Mississippi valley will be understood from the fact that a lake sixty miles long and two to six miles in width, created by the earthquake, exists, bearing the appropriate name of "Reel-foot." It is celebrated for hunting and fishing.

Reliable records exist of the remarkable journey during which the steamer passed in the midst of the frightful mingling of land and water without being harmed, though many flat boats and keel boats were lost. The Mississippi river, to the great amazement of the old settlers, ran Northward for miles several times. There was a literal and awful illustration of the famous line, "The earth hath bubbles as the water hath."

Another narrative of the exploration of the Mississippi river by the bold navigator, the grandfather of the President, contains additional details that

add light in the illumination of the character of the Chief Executive, that his grandmother, the pioneer steamboat man's wife, as before stated, insisted on accompanying her husband on the trial trip.

It was easily to be seen in advance that the voyage would be a dangerous one, but nothing could deter the brave woman from sharing her husband's fortunes, good or evil. No freight or paying passengers were carried, the trip being only an experimental one. The voyage was to be from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and if navigation of the rivers was found practicable the boat was to be put in the New Orleans and Natchez trade. Besides Mr. Roosevelt and his family, there were no other persons aboard except Mr. Baker, the engineer; Andrew Jack, the pilot; six deck hands and a few servants.

There were, as heretofore pointed out, no woodyards along the river banks at that time, and Captain Roosevelt had taken his precautions on that score. On his reconnoiter of the rivers, a few months before beginning the voyage, he had discovered two beds of coal about 120 miles below the rapids at Louisville, and took along tools to work them, intending to load the vessel with the coal instead of frequently detaining the boat while wood was being cut and hauled to the banks.

It was while the steamboat was on the Mississippi, in the months of December, 1810 and January, 1811, that the greatest earthquake ever felt in North America changed the physical geography of much of the country watered by the Mississippi river.

Captain Roosevelt and his family aboard the New Orleans, as the boat was named, were in the worst fury of the earthquake, having come out of the Ohio into the Mississippi river about the time of the greatest damage at New Madrid.

In the midst of the terrible convulsion as this the first of western steamboats was pursuing her way to the South. When John Bradbury, a noted English explorer, and his keel boat were near the mouth of the Arkansas they were passed by the steamboat, which had weathered the gale and came through all the war of the elements without any serious injury. The Englishman says in his book: "She was a very handsome vessel of 410 tons burden, and was impelled by a powerful engine." He afterwards took passage on this boat at Natchez for New Orleans, and in his description of the operation grew enthusiastic.

The Southern side of the ancestry of the President is given with scrupulous care in the Georgia journals as follows:

"President Theodore Roosevelt probably comes nearer to being a Southern man than any Chief Executive the nation has had since the Civil War. Certainly he comes nearer to being a Georgia man than any of his predecessors in office since the war.

President Roosevelt is a direct descendant of Governor Archibald Bullock, the first State Governor that Georgia had. This does not include the Colonial Governors. The mother of President Roosevelt, Martha Bullock, was born in Liberty county, and at Roswell, Ga., twenty miles from Atlanta, in the mansion of her father at that place, she married Theodore Roosevelt of New York, the father of the new President of the United States.

In Atlanta President Roosevelt has a number of relatives. Among them is Mr. Jefferson Davis Dunwody, who has furnished the following account of the Roosevelt history in Georgia, which shows that Georgia and South Carolina have many of the relatives of the new President among their best citizens.

Archibald Bullock was the ancestor of Theodore Roosevelt. Archibald Bullock was the Georgia delegate to the Continental Congress in 1775. He was elected to same in 1776, and could have signed the Declaration of Independence, as he was elected to that Congress, and would have remained until the Constitution was framed. He attended both meetings of Congress in 1775 and 1776 and was a prominent and conspicuous member.

In 1776 he was elected as the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the State of Georgia, which then ceased to be a Colony. He signed the first Constitution of the State of Georgia as President. He died in 1777, soon after signing the State Constitution. He also read in public for the first time the Declaration to the citizens of Savannah. A copy was sent to him from the Congress in Philadelphia by horseback rider. They gave a big barbecue in Savannah, at that time capital, as it were, of the State, and Archibald Bullock, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, read to the assembled citizens the new Declaration of Independence. Archibald Bullock married on October 9, 1764, on Argyle Island, Mary DeVeaux, daughter of James DeVeaux.

Archibald Bullock and Mary DeVeaux had issue—Captain James Bullock, born in 1765, who was a Captain in the Virginia State garrison troops from 1778 to 1781. He was married April 13, 1786, to Ann Irvine, daughter of Dr. John Irvine and Ann Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Kenneth Baillie. Captain James Bullock died February 9, 1806. He and his wife, Ann Irvine, had issue:

1. John Irvine Bullock, who married Charlotte Glen.
2. Major James S. Bullock, who married first Hester Elliot, who was daughter of United States Senator John Elliot and Esther Dunwody. The second wife of Major Bullock was Martha Stewart, daughter of General Daniel Stewart, of the Revolution, and his wife, Susanna Oswald.
3. Jane Bullock, who married John Dunwody, of Georgia, and had issue, including the Dunwodys of Georgia.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT
FATHER OF
PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The issue of Major James S. Bullock by his second wife is as follows:

1. Martha Bullock, who married at her father's home in Roswell, Cobb county, Ga., December 22, 1853, Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, and had as their issue Theodore Roosevelt, now President of the United States, who married first Alice Lee and second Edith Carew and had issue by both.

Theodore Roosevelt and Alice Lee had one child, Alice Lee Roosevelt, now a young lady.

Theodore Roosevelt and Edith Kermit Carew had Theodore Roosevelt, Kermit Roosevelt, Ethel Roosevelt, Archibald Bullock Roosevelt, the latter born April 9, 1894.

Martha Bullock, the mother of President Roosevelt, formerly lived in Liberty county, Georgia, and in Savannah. Her father, with Dr. John Dunwody, his brother-in-law, and the Kings, built elegant summer homes in Roswell, Ga., and erected and capitalized the Roswell factory in about 1850. These old mansions are still in Roswell, and the house in which Martha Bullock, who was called "Millie," was married belongs to Mr. Bartow Wing, of Roswell. The Bullock family is related to several prominent families in Georgia and South Carolina, including the Bellingers, Elliots, Dunwodys and others, who are all related to President Roosevelt. He has two second cousins in Georgia, viz., Colonel John Dunwody of the Seventh Georgia Regiment and Major Charles Dunwody of Roswell. In South Carolina his second cousin is Rev. James Bullock Dunwody, a Presbyterian minister, who lives in Wadesboro, S. C., and who is now 86 years old. The President is a third cousin to several younger members of the Dunwody family, including in Atlanta John Elliot Dunwody, Jeff Davis Dunwody, Miss Alice Dunwody, Henry M. Dunwody, besides others of the family in different parts of Georgia and South Carolina."

The nephew of Nicholas J. Roosevelt, the Mississippi navigator, was Cornelius V. S. Roosevelt, born in 1794 at Oyster Bay, was an important merchant, and lived eight-seven years. His son, Robert Barnell Roosevelt, served in Congress as a Democrat, and was prominent as one of the organizers and promoters of game laws. He was one of the State Fish Commissioners, and was active on the committee which succeeded the downfall of Tweed. In 1888 he was appointed Minister to the Netherlands. This gentleman, upon urgency, submitted to the United Service Monthly Review, a memorandum relating to the President's father, who was born in New York, September 22, 1831, and died February 9, 1878. He was a glass importer with James A. Roosevelt. The firm was Roosevelt & Son. His brother describes him as a man "possessed of great energy and original ideas." He thought he could serve the country better as an organizer of citizens to help the army, than by military service, and was one of the founders of Loyal National Leagues.

His most important work was the Allotment Commission, enabling men at the front to "allot" their pay, or any portion of it, to their families. In this service he visited as Allotment Commissioner, all the New York regiments in the field. His brother says:

"No law that was ever devised was more valuable and beneficial to the soldiery, and no man ever worked harder to carry out a noble purpose. In the cold of winter and the heat of summer, through dust, mud and slush, in rain and snow and storm the commission struggled and plodded and rode; often far into the wilderness, away from comfort and even the means of subsistence, with uncertain prospects of a meal or a lodging place, they went, he sometimes alone, sometimes with one and then with the other of his patriotic companions, but always ready to do his appointed work with every power of his untiring mind and body."

The President's father was active in charities, and devoted to the reform and redemption of criminals who had paid the penalty of their crime to the State and on their discharge from prison were almost sure to fall into their old ways unless some one gave them a helping hand. That hand he reached out, and got others interested in doing the same, till he had the prison reform committee permanently established in its good work. Then he founded the "Newsboys' Lodging House," a free home and shelter for the waifs of the press and a charity whose usefulness is surpassed by none.

Mr. Robert Roosevelt confirms in particulars the happy reputation of his brother in works of public good will, and concludes with this pleasing summary of his amusements and home life:

"Mr. Roosevelt was withal of a most genial, happy temper, fond of society and a great leader of the best social functions of the city, where his family had been prominent since it was founded, and well known to, and connected by marriage with all the best families. His principal recreation was in riding and driving horses. He rode animals that could take a "five-barred gate" with any hunter, and he often made them do it. His horses were of the purest strain, some of them coming from the stud farm of Mr. Gibbons at Madison, who was the leading breeder of fast horses among the gentlemen of his day. He also drove one of the first "four-in-hands" of New York, and was particularly fond of guiding the perilous tandem through the streets and parks of the city. At home he was a loving and devoted husband and father and the best of citizens in private and public. He married Miss Martha Bullock of Georgia, the sister of Captain James Bullock, who was the head of the secessionist navy during the rebellion and fitted out the Alabama and the Shenandoah from England. He had four children, among them his son, named after him, who became President of the United States and possesses not a few of his characteristics."

His brother, Theodore Roosevelt, born in the City of New York, was short lived as compared to the rest of his family. He was born in 1831, and died in 1878. He was a merchant and banker; noted for extensive charities and public spirit. President Roosevelt is his son.

James John Roosevelt, great uncle of the President, was born in New York, in 1795, and lived to be eighty years old; a lawyer and a Democrat; he was twice a member of the State Legislature, Justice of the State Supreme Court, and United States District Attorney in New York.

Another relative of Theodore Roosevelt, a cousin of Cornelius, was James Henry Roosevelt, who was born in New York in 1800, and died in 1863. He accumulated a large fortune through unusual thrift, and his object in saving money was explained when his will was read. It left the bulk of his estate to found Roosevelt Hospital, one of the greatest charities of New York.

Hilborne Lewis Roosevelt, also born in New York, was a noted organ builder and inventor.

It is related of Archibald Bullock, first Governor of Georgia, that immediately after his inauguration, he found a soldier guarding his home. The man explained that he had been stationed there by order of General McIntosh to protect him from harm. The Governor sent the guard about his business, saying he was able to take care of himself, that he relied on the people, and had no fear of harm. His father was a Scotchman, who served the Revolutionary cause with distinction. He was related to the Douglas family. In addition to his Holland blood, the President has the Scotch and the Huguenot, for the great-grandmother of his mother was Mary DeVeaux, grand-daughter of a Huguenot.

Mr. Jacob S. Riis contributed to the Review of Reviews, August, 1900, a sketch of the father of the President, saying: "There hangs in his study at Oyster Bay the picture of a man with a strong bearded face. Passing it with Governor Roosevelt, he said, 'That is my father,' and added: 'He was the finest man I ever knew. He was a merchant, well-to-do, drove his four-in-hand through the park, and enjoyed life immensely. He had such a good time, and with cause, for he was a good man. I remember seeing him going down Broadway, staid and respectable business man that he was, with a poor little sick kitten in his coat-pocket, which he had picked up in the street.'

"The elder Theodore Roosevelt was a man with the same sane and practical interest in his fellow-man that his son has shown. He was the backer of Charles Loring Brace in his work of gathering the forgotten waifs from the city's streets, and of every other sensible charity in his day. Dr. Henry Field told me once that he always, occupied as he was with the management of a successful business, on principal gave one day of the six to visiting the poor in their homes. Apparently the analogy between father and son might be

carried farther, to include even the famous round-robin; for, upon the same authority, it was the elder Theodore Roosevelt who went to Washington after the first Bull Run and warned President Lincoln that he must get rid of Simon Cameron as Secretary of War, with the result that Mr. Stanton, the 'Organizer of Victory,' took his place. When the war was fairly under way, it was Theodore Roosevelt who organized the allotment plan, which saved to the families of 80,000 soldiers of New York State more than \$5,000,000 of their pay; and when the war was over he protected the soldiers against the sharks that lay in wait for them, and saw to it that they got employment.

"That was the father. I have told you what the son is like. A man with red blood in his veins; a healthy patriot, with no clap-trap jingoism about him, but a rugged belief in America and its mission; an intense lover of country and flag; a vigorous optimist, a believer in men, who looks for the good in them and finds it. Practical in partisanship; loyal, trusting, and gentle as a friend; unselfish, modest as a woman, clean-handed and clean-hearted, and honest to the core. In the splendid vigor of his young manhood he is the knightliest figure in American politics to-day, the fittest exponent of his country's ideas, and the model for its young sons who are coming to take up the task he set them."

President Roosevelt was married September 23, 1880, to Alice Lee, of Boston, who died in 1884. One child was born of this marriage, Alice Lee Roosevelt, whose age when her father succeeded to the Presidency was seventeen. She was born in the year of her mother's death.

The President's second marriage took place on December 2nd, 1886, to Edith Kermit Carew, of New York City. Five children have been born of this marriage, Theodore J., age fourteen; Kermit, age twelve; Ethel Carew, age ten; Archibald Bullock, age seven; Quentin (boy), age four.

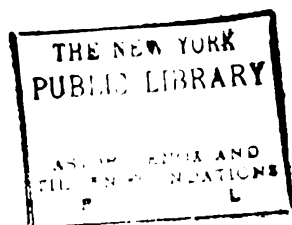
The daughter born of the first marriage, bears her mother's maiden name, Alice Lee. Kermit and Ethel Carew, divide their mother's name. The first of the President's sons bears the name of his father and grandfather. Archibald Bullock bears the name of the President's mother's father. Quentin was born just prior to the Spanish-American War, while his father was organizing the Rough Riders. He does not think much of Washington as a place of residence. The White House, in his estimation, is a poor substitute for the home at Oyster Bay. He does not relish being confined in a small part of the mansion, but would like to roam at will throughout the building and investigate the progress of public business from time to time. One day he desired to walk through the flower beds on stilts. His father told him that the gardener objected. The youngster answered: "I don't see what good it does for you to be President. There are so many things we can't do here. I wish I were home again."



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S BIRTHPLACE
28 E. 20TH ST., NEW YORK CITY



OLD ROOSEVELT HOMESTEAD, LONG ISLAND
"TRANQUILLITY"



CHAPTER II.

IN THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY.

**Roosevelt's Way of Self-Making—Disciplined Body and Mind—Studied and Assailed
Corrupt Public Life—Relations with Grover Cleveland—Legislation Charged to
Their Joint Action—Interesting Association.**

IN his youth, Theodore Roosevelt subjected his mind and body to the power of his will. He was to himself a scientific problem and applied his strength to it with ceaseless and systematic energy. His resolution was absolute to get the best results out of his endowment. In his boyishness there was a stern and constant manliness. The daily training of his physical forces was a serious occupation with a fixed purpose. He looked forward to leaving college an athlete and scholar. His running, jumping, riding, boxing, were as regularly ordered as his studies. He was a gymnast and mathematician. Instead of fitfully overdoing his work, he exercised his best intelligence to refrain from extreme effort. His frequent foot racing was not with the aim of winning races, and he did not exert himself desperately to be a winner. However, he won health. His schooling in boxing was not that he might have superior physical advantages and bully anyone. He thought it a peace measure to know and make known that he could protect himself. He gave his ardent attention to the manly art of self-defence, and found in politics, early and late, that it was well to keep the peace as a fighting man. He felt it within his capacity to be a strong one, and strove for strength as a prize—ability to do hard work, to be sure of himself on his feet and with his hands. He came out with testimony that he was sound, his constitution firm, for he expanded his lungs with vital air, vivified his blood, cleared his brain, and put that in severe training, along with his muscles, gave his memory the task of recording the drawing color and perspective of the pictures he alone saw, that gave him vistas of the treasures he remembered, resembling those galleries with which Florence spans her parent river.

The young man rejoiced in his strength—strength for action, not dissipation, the storage of energy gotten from the air, the light piercing it, the oxygen pervading it; and there was yielded the energy for the accomplishment of ambitious designs. He was not a prodigal wasting forces, but prudent and

frugal, and success did not resolve itself into lassitude. With his methods he gained capital for investment in enterprise.

When he graduated at Harvard, the storied halls of Dresden, the palaces that are museums, received him, and the gathered masterpieces of the Saxon kings welcomed him. The study of history was as a stroll at a festival and as a student he always had a task. The lofty Alps awaited him, with marvelous light on their peaks.

There is a light on the Alps unseen elsewhere. It shines from the lamps that guide the student's feet along the worn paths of history, where the footsteps of Hannibal and Napoleon are on the rocks, and there are gathered in the mysteries of the mountains the stories of thousands of years. Roosevelt of course had to climb the most difficult of the peaks, saw the sunrises and the sunsets, got a glimpse of the Mediterranean waters, saw the Italian cities of golden and glorious memories, and venerable traditions; Peter's dome men "built wiser than they knew;" the sunny fields of France, the white cliffs of England, the heather of Scotland, the green landscapes of Ireland, the sparkling waters where Caesar's galleys and the Conqueror's barges, the Spanish Armada, the dusky red sails and bristling hulks of the hardy Hollanders swept; and where the fleets of Nelson and the steel-clad thunderers of Victoria in their turn, rushed to doom or rode in triumph.

The young man returned to his country prouder of it than ever, ready and resolved to fight for it, to go where the banners of glory would guide, and bear them up if they were threatened. Both sides of the big war when he was a baby were in his brain, educated to be quick to hear the trumpet call to arms. He saw on the gray old ocean that spread before him added fuel for fancy, and arched the way with the rainbows that youth beholds beyond, not on, the clouds. He landed in his own native land, heard the demand of duty clear as a bugle's call and responded wherever he could reach a battlefield. It was to go into politics, to enter the primary meetings, to fight the beasts in the slums and the slimy things that swarmed there. There was the field to break the stings, and crush the reptiles that crawled to power. At twenty-three he was in the Legislature, and had stricken the bullies that beset him, with blows from his shoulders, better aimed and heavier than they could deliver, for he put brains into them.

When he returned to New York from Europe, he had an excellent opportunity to enter "Society," for he was a member of one of the old families—one of the ninth generation of Americans. He preferred to be a politician, to find occupation in libraries, and in those pursuits that require vigor of mind and body. It is possibly an inexact and yet a substantially true report which attributes to him the statement that if a man wants to be good he must get into politics. His home in young manhood was in the twenty-third assembly

district, which, because of the men of wealth living there, was known as the "Diamond Back District." Into the political life of this district he entered with such zeal he soon became a leader. In 1881 he was elected to the Assembly, which at that time was Democratic. The fact that he was in a minority seemed to delight this young man who loved a contest. He immediately made his mark as a fearless, honest and untiring workman, and until he got a reputation as a fighting man he could pick up a fight without the least trouble.

The most interesting episode of the career of Theodore Roosevelt in the Assembly of New York, was his relations, as a reformer, with Governor Cleveland, now the only "Elected" President of the United States, in the sense in which President Roosevelt uses the word in his first message to Congress, confining election, to the electoral votes counted by Congress in joint session of the two Houses. The cordiality with which the President and ex-President met at the funeral of the murdered martyr, McKinley, was regarded with good feeling at the time. Mr. Cleveland's tribute to McKinley, in an address at Princeton, was of such elevated character, so strong and clear, so happy in thought and language, that it gave the ex-President the increased kindly friendliness of millions of his fellow citizens. It has not been forgotten that Cleveland's act in adding two years to Roosevelt's Civil Service Commission labors, was the conversion of the reform from a fad that was personal to a fact that was of common knowledge, and removed from it the dynastic distinction; no President refraining from giving it confidence if it conferred upon his appointees perpetuity in office. Cleveland wanted Roosevelt to stay but he had a genius for knowing when to go; and he took no steps backward.

In the course of his career, President Roosevelt has been subject to accusations, young as he still is, of taking an important part in the political education of his predecessor, Cleveland. This story, like many others, would be incredible on account of age, if not well attested. Fancy that Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt were, when the latter was a "boy," engaged in putting each other in the way of becoming President of the United States! They were co-workers in an important sense, at any rate, in the city of Albany, as for some years later in Washington City. Mr. Cleveland was, at the time of the unique development of friendship between himself and Roosevelt, Governor of New York. The story should be told as it was related by the Honorable Richard Barthold, of the Tenth Congressional District, of Missouri, in the city of St. Louis. When young Roosevelt was stirring up in the Legislature the "guilty rich" of his own New York City District, the present member of Congress from the 10th District, of Missouri, was the Albany correspondent of the Brooklyn Free Press, and later of the New York Staats

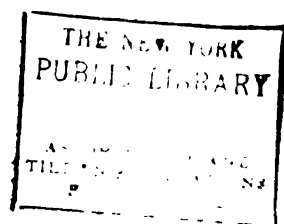
Zeitung. Mr. Barthold, the German reporter, now Congressman, became an admirer of Mr. Roosevelt, who, as the youngest man in the Legislature, became the most distinguished. He has not been doing much talking about Albany times with the President, but the other day made a few casual, but very authentic observations, that become, when put on paper, a new chapter of the greatest interest in the life of the President. The career of Roosevelt opened as a New York law maker. It was at Albany he manifested himself, and was the Chairman of the next New York delegation of the Republicans to a National Convention—1884. Twenty years ago, when Roosevelt became a legislator, he was twenty-three years old. He had but a brief experience in politics, and he was young enough to care bitterly about elevating politics, which was an unpromising cry to start with, but he was as robust then as at any time, and nominated for the Assembly in Jacob Hess' district, contrary to the wishes of that leader, who ruled the politics of his party with severe autocracy until he was up against Roosevelt. This victory over the machine attracted attention, and caused old politicians to note with concern the personality of this young man, who came from one of the old New York families, and, nevertheless, was one of the people, without foolish pretense.

It requires some opportunity for a young man in politics, even after he has entered a legislative body, to cause the public eye to turn his way. It is easy, and usual, for the political novice to remain obscure, but Theodore Roosevelt was not of that kind. He was not pushing himself forward to advertise, but watching the proceedings of the Assembly with the closest interest, forming his own conclusions on matters that developed, and doing his part modestly. Early in the session, a Democratic leader spoke and made historical references, and perhaps the day was one of Destiny. All days of Destiny have in them opportunity. The boy who was a thorn in the side of the "criminal rich," was on his feet, and made his first speech. They at once called it impromptu, but the young man was crammed with facts, and apparently knew enough about the matter in hand to instruct the Legislature. He dispensed information. The forcefulness of delivery, the ready command of facts and their logical presentation, showed accurate knowledge of American history. The speech was a sensation. The young New Yorker made a profound impression upon the Assembly. He established himself as one of the real men of that body, and whenever he had anything to say, was listened to respectfully. He had, seizing his chance, compelled recognition. Old members and others congratulated him heartily and whenever the name of Roosevelt was mentioned, everybody knew somebody had arrived.

The incident involving Cleveland was later, showing Roosevelt with glistening clearness, moral courage and fearless devotion to the right, even if the



THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY GROUP



right as he saw it might be supposed to inflict upon him an embarrassment of inconsistency.

He introduced a bill reducing the fare on the elevated roads in New York from ten to five cents, and through his untiring efforts, the bill, despite the opposition of the elevated railroad interests, passed the Assembly and then the Senate. The then Governor of New York, Grover Cleveland, vetoed the bill on the ground that when the elevated roads had been constructed, the capitalists who invested in it had understood that the fare was to be ten cents, otherwise, they would not have constructed them. The argument appealed to Roosevelt. Mr. Cleveland had a hard time for a while for restoring the bill. When the veto message came in, a member moved that the bill be passed over the Governor's veto notwithstanding. Roosevelt arose and told the Assembly that he was sorry for the part he had taken in the passage of the bill, although he had acted in perfect good faith, but when the elevated roads were built there was an implied obligation, which should not be disregarded. He had new light on the subject from the Governor's veto, and so changed his position, for there certainly would have been no incentive to build the roads unless it had been understood the fare was to remain at ten cents. It took sublime courage to face about, admit that he had been wrong in his first position, and place himself where his motives could be questioned by those antagonistic to them, and he could be sneered at by the people who always question motives in public life. Roosevelt felt it was a duty he owed to himself to do what he thought was right and did it thoroughly. No one who heard him but believed that he would always be found fighting against "the wealthy criminal class," as he put it.

Naturally, Cleveland and Roosevelt, after the Governor had converted the young reformer to a ten cent fare, both believing it was right according to contract, and not to be lightly repudiated, met on common ground and in a sympathetic atmosphere, compared notes, and discussed measures. They were wrong about the necessity of the ten cent fare; and that fact is one that illustrated the wonderful railroad progress, and shows how great are the advantages of the rapid and cheap transportation by methods unknown twenty years ago. It is the Albany understanding that Cleveland and Roosevelt had a great deal of influence upon each other, and that the Governor of the State advised often with the young Assemblyman and took advice; that, in fact, they worked together for legislation for which Roosevelt presented the facts, and exercised his literary faculty. Cleveland, gaining largely by the association, his repute as a reformer, that had so much to do with his political fortunes, giving him two terms of the Presidency, though he offended Tammany, and was, as General Bragg said, "loved for the enemies he made." The two defeats of Bryan may in some degree be accounted for along the same line. The stroke that did the

most for the reform of the Civil Service, was the continuance of Roosevelt in the Commission to which he was appointed by Harrison, for two years of Cleveland's term. This lap was very important to the cause. It was by curious turns of fortune that Cleveland and Roosevelt were Governors of New York and Presidents of the United States, within so brief a time after they became politicians of prominence, taking the unpopular side of an exciting question, and that there are incidents that amount to coincidences, that at critical times they with consistency were helpful each to the other in a reasonable way.

As Cleveland did not find in the Democratic Presidential Conventions, of 1896, approval of his financial solidity, and considering he did not submit to prevalent party influences in New York City, and as Roosevelt sometimes agreed to disagree with powerful Republican influences, the two men had a good deal in common, and one thing was the betterment of the municipal government of New York City. It is Albany information that the hands of Cleveland and Roosevelt were frequently joined, in legislation looking to changes for the better, and that a good deal is accountable when this is taken into consideration. The originator of the legislation was Roosevelt, and Cleveland had the help of an influence with the proposed reformatations, that showed its hand when Cleveland became a candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Cleveland's retirement is as positive as Mr. Roosevelt's advancement is distinct, and neither is likely to be disturbed.

The fact that they were once collaborators in well doing does not call for repentance, and so far as it is new to the public, the novelty will be acceptable and make an agreeable impression.

One of the personal annoyances of the President, is the fashion some half informed persons, perhaps with a relation to the press, have started, of saying he is a Cosmopolitan. It is accountable, because certainly Mr. Roosevelt knows a great deal of the world, has climbed the Rockies and the Alps, made the acquaintance of vast and various peoples, and distinguished himself in writing and making history—beginning with the Indian, as our illustrious predecessors and ending with the Spanish war. However, the President consents to be called an all around good fellow, and his presence at a banquet calls for the abundant old, somewhat British song, "He's a jolly good fellow, as nobody can deny." He prefers to be described as an American. He has succeeded with an array of ancestors ascending away back, to have imparted the true American flavor to an ancient and honorable Holland name. The chances are he could take a prize in any university for superiority of knowledge of Daniel Boone and Andrew Jackson; and the way he has scalped modern aristocrats of metropolitan circles is suggestive of the red men of whom he has written, not with red paint, but with indelible ink.

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AS A DAKOTA RANCHMAN

THEODORE ROOSEVELT



IN THE GARB OF A HUNTER

CHAPTER III.

ROOSEVELT'S RANCH LIFE.

The Little Missouri Ranch Was One of the President's School Houses—How He Is a Self-Made Man—Gets Acquainted with the Great American Animals and Introduces Them—His Ranch Missouri—Literary Work Shop—His Past Experiences There—Bear Stories—His Most Thrilling Moment—Good and Bad Shots with Rifles.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S life as an Assemblyman had been in the highest sense educational. In college he sought growth—what could be made out of a boy reputed to be puny, by exercise of a will that wanted to fly with stronger wings than he found were given to bear him up when he fluttered from the nest. He was wise enough to know that a father with a competency only gave a son who knew enough to know it, the better opportunity to be a self-made man. He is accounted for in the strains of his blood, his intellect, industry, intelligence, perseverance, personal hardihood, public spirit, steady courage, on occasion impetuous and of extreme daring in emergency. His indignation against evil doers in public affairs is inherited. His father was a teacher of the lessons of hard work, the blessings of health and strength, and to fill up time with toil. To him there is something infamous in idleness. He first used the phrase "the criminal rich," and gave his district a shock. He seems to have been indebted to his mother for his wholesome imagination, and has a right to be proud of the valor of his relatives who were fighting for the lost cause, giving too much loyalty to the State and too little to the Nation. The Holland blood of the President's ancestors was about evenly divided with French, when the Southern mother added to its high quality the Georgian strain of the Scotch-Irish. The combination is rare, and the fire in it that of puritanism and patriotism. That blood has been shed in a thousand battles with honor. There is in it pure iron; and it was not only at the front with sword and rifle at Santiago, but in the fields that were stained in Scotland, Ireland and the Netherlands it was freely spilled for the freedom of the races that fought against odds.

To a young man like Roosevelt, the Assembly was a capital school, and there came another educational experience, exceptionally strengthening. He was defeated as a candidate for mayor of New York. The death of his mother

and wife occurring so near in time that the two blows were blended as one misfortune, one stroke that had the heaviness and bitterness of bereavement, commanded him to make a change, not only of air and scene, but to seek another civilization. He sought the remote spaces, the appertaining adventures, the big game of our country (far surpassing in ferocity and formidableness the lions that he disrespectfully calls the "Melodramatic beasts of Africa"), incidentally acquiring the acquaintance of a class of countrymen of intense interest, and that it was a fortune making destiny to meet. More than that, his collegiate education in athletics had built him up, from scientific dealing with good material, and aided its evolution with European refreshment of air and invigoration of mountaineering. All this was supplemented by the North American plains and mountains.

The great North American wild animals are passing away. Theodore Roosevelt has won a special and distinct immortality in becoming familiar with and the leading writer of our own natural history. He introduced to young and bold America the buffalo of the prairies, the bob cats and bigger cats, and the grand old grizzlies, the stately elks and the skipping antelopes, the bounding and horned goats that live a life of gaiety among the precipices. With this comes the incidental horsemanship, the gallops that cover capers over fifty miles, the mastery of saddles and rifles, ranches and rivers, the studies in the midst of solitudes, the delight of book reading a thousand or two or ten thousand miles away from the giddy throngs; the joys of writing books with mighty and lovely Mother Nature keeping watch. Consistent with these labors come the long days and longer nights, all one's own, the splendid scope of dreams, mounting the far loping horse, easy as a rocking chair, broadening the fields under foot, and expanding glorious horizons. Out of the greater university there were new object lessons, and faculties of teachers on horseback. The imagination was taught by examination of the widened and roughened realities to correct its own fantasies, and with the elimination of the fantastic, find classified and brightened the creative faculty. Why, this was like "filling up with coal, the best to be had," the war ships carrying our flag in Asiatic seas, where the Spaniards had invited us by their incapacity in the years of our youth, to make our ultimate presence and victory a necessary experience in the Orient, that America might give to Asia the influence Asia lavished upon Europe.

The wonders of the West that took Roosevelt into their confidence, gave him an education not elsewhere the world around to be had by a young American, have never lost for him their captivating charm, and every year he found himself—if not in the summer, in the winter—galloping fierce and far with the Rough Riders, hunting with the matchless hunters, rounding up herds with the cowboys, riding with the Cougar Hounds. It was not a useless misfortune that the Rough Riders had in Cuba, when they rode not at all, but

found their legs good for any amount of field walking when there was a lack that seemed altogether woeful, of horses.

When he graduated from the Ranch, he was needed at the National Capital to see what could be done that the servants of the Government should be chosen on their merits, rather than have imposed on them the human slavery of official servitude; needed to energize the Navy, that had had a tendency to sail in circles, and steam in easy curvatures, all centring upon one quiet point, like the pool in the whirl of a cyclone, an example of stagnation where the weather maps of out of doors cease to be of interest to those who navigate in bureaus. It was hard for the gentleman of the quiet waters to understand why the rush of eccentric winds should disturb the solemnities of spots retired from the reign of the indications of thermometers, barometers or other instruments of scientific interference, with the wise, perhaps, and masterly, that is certain inertia, that impresses itself as the "poultice" said to come "like silence, to heal the blows of sound."

Roosevelt having bestirred the Navy, performed like service for the Army, and put into Cuba the Rough Riders, taught them the one thing needed if they had not the comprehension. He furnished legs, and when the old folks were awakened to ask for more war news, lo, the news was peace. Then there was a change of climate, and Theodore Roosevelt was Governor of New York, Vice President and then President of the United States. There is no more romantic story that is true, or picturesque figure that is heroic, than he.

If we compute the time Theodore Roosevelt has occupied in holding office by working days, we find that he has reserved far the greater number of his hours for unofficial industries. He was three years a New York Assemblyman, two years Police Commissioner, six years Civil Service Commissioner, one year Assistant Secretary of the Navy, four months in the Army, two years Governor, six months Vice-President, and never fully occupied in an office, until he became President. The Assembly did not take much time, nor did the Police Commission; but the Civil Service Commission was a labor of love and he was devoted to it largely.

His steady occupation has been Literature. He was a man for some time before he ceased to be a boy, and his boyishness was over when he was a graduate of Harvard. He was well educated in public affairs before he held commission or diploma and was an expert in political history when he walked into the Legislature, and sat in a Senatorial seat of the State of New York, in the delegation to the National Republican Convention, June 3rd, 1884. Senators Foraker and Lodge were in the Convention, and thought themselves mature in public life. So they were, if time is counted by the distinctions it brings, and yet, they are still young, and the date named is sixteen years and a

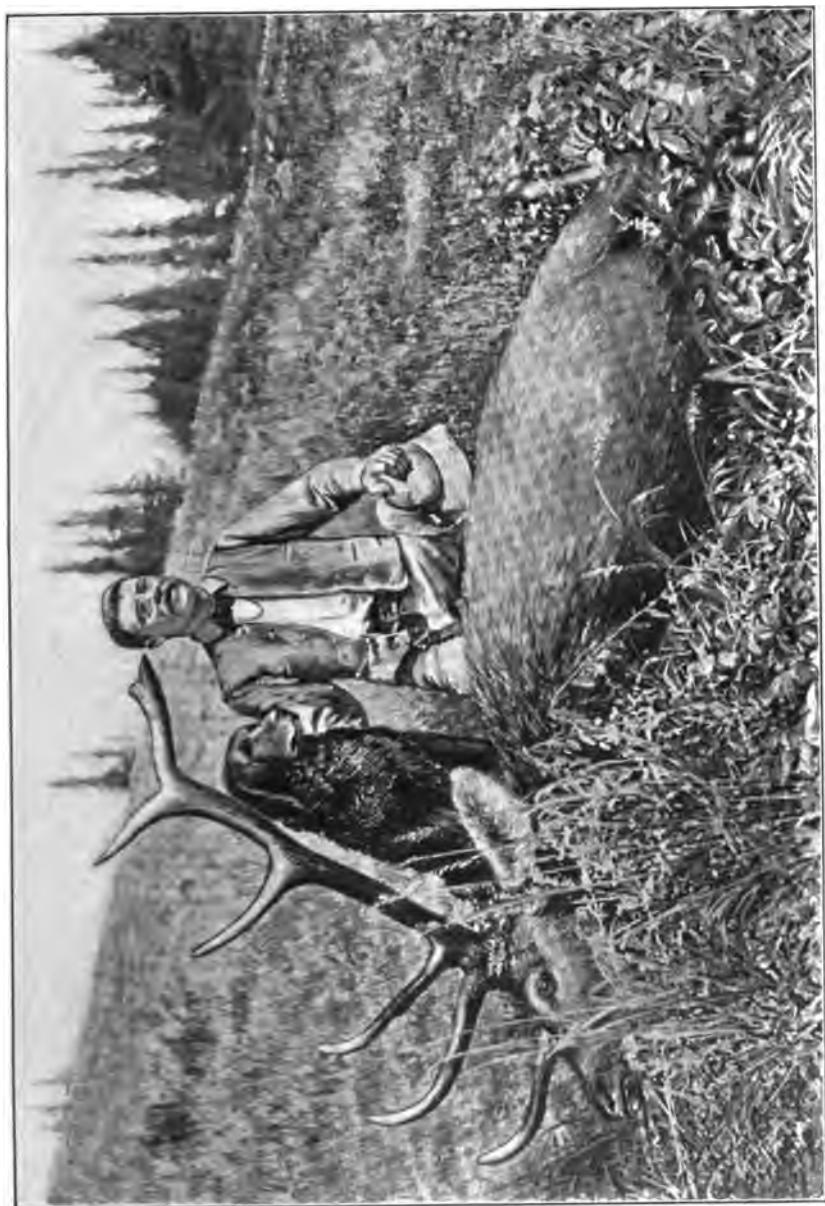
long summer and autumn and part of a winter ago. They looked upon Mr. Roosevelt as a youthful phenomenon. His head was well up and his presence not unfrequently announced by incisive utterances. Attention was called to him as a pugnacious personality, going right on with brains and bravery.

Those experienced persons who are on the lookout for new comers, and can see the lights that shine afar, had him in their minds' eyes, as well as actually visible, and said to each other, "He's comin'," but did not think he would get there so soon.

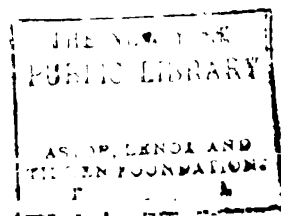
The earliest artfulness in aid of ambition of Theodore Roosevelt, was in getting so much time out of a day. There is no art equal to it for a strong man to make his way. The amount of it is in getting two days' work out of one astronomical day, and as our young President recommends the eight hour law, as he made well known when Governor of New York, he gets in two eight hour days for himself in each twenty-four hours. At this rate, he counts about forty years of labor in the twenty years of his public life. There is no other way of making room for all the various proceedings and productions for which he is correctly held responsible. Without this explanation, his production of literature can not be accounted for. Many a young man has spent more time in tobacco indulgences, thinking he was deciding what he was going to do with his life, than it has taken Roosevelt to write twenty volumes of history and essays, saying nothing of a prodigious assortment of public papers and speeches and addresses, memoranda and executive orders.

First of all, Theodore Roosevelt is to be classified as a man of letters. The average young man who graduates at college, offers up a year of devotion to himself, to discover what he believes is important, and, indeed, so it is, and pitiful, too, sometimes, if he has what the British call "a tidy lump of money," to cross-examine himself and ascertain his aptitude for profitable employment. The years that go that way—tobacco and beer, or no narcotics—are not always misspent, but one must learn what to do, and enough to do.

One year after Roosevelt was out of college, out came a book that is the best authority on both sides of the Atlantic, "The Naval War of 1812, or the History of the United States Navy during the Late War with Great Britain," by Theodore Roosevelt. He graduated at Harvard in 1880, and his book was published in 1882. The "Nation" said, in reviewing it, "The impartiality of the author's judgment and the thoroughness with which the evidence is sifted, are remarkable and worthy of high praise." This commendation is carefully measured, for stronger language would have been justified. The word "judgment" in such a case is, however, strong, for it is a rare quality to be apparent in a history issued during the first year after college. One would expect in an author so young writing of naval warfare in which his country was engaged, that he would be flamboyant, with his lofty theme, and scatter all the colors of



BIG GAME HUNTING



glory with a lavish brush. That is not the kind of book young Roosevelt wrote. He must have gone into the old reports, letters, statistics, studied the ships so as to know just how many guns each of the fighting sea boats carried, what was the weight of metal of all the broadsides, and the range of fire; who had the advantage of the size and reach of the shots. Roosevelt did not write this War of 1812 book, without knowing with what force and from what direction the wind blew. The names of the officers on both sides were as familiar to him as those of his schoolmates.

Three years later, the second work of Theodore Roosevelt was published, entitled "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," sketches of sport on the Northern cattle plains, together with "Personal Experiences of Life on a Cattle Ranch." This was not a study from the treasured fragments of authenticity in the private papers of the actors in affairs, the turning and overturning of forgotten works, the contents of precious pigeon holes. It was not looked to for the biographical particulars of the heroes who fought under their respective flags. The second work was a study from nature, the exploration of new lands—"Good" and "Bad" Lands, sketches of the picturesque of a people ascertained upon analysis to be a novelty. The first book was of something old—the second, of something new. We quote the "Nation" again: "His style is simple and devoid of pretense of fine writing, yet his descriptions of scenery are often most eloquent." This eulogy has all the fine quality the severe recommend as the emphasis of understatement, the power of moderation found upon measure by scientific instruments, to be within the facts.

In 1887, "The Life of Thomas Hart Benton," was published; and the same year, "The Life of Governor Morris," and also, "Essays on Practical Politics." The young man was working harder with his pen than he would have been if he had pounded iron into horseshoes and nails and tires of wheels, going into the detail of blacksmithing.

In the same year, his "Ranch Life and Hunting Trail" was issued. Of this book the "Saturday Review" said:

"One of the reasons for the success of the President's books is that he wrote of the 'Winning of the West' in the West. There is a Western atmosphere in the volumes."

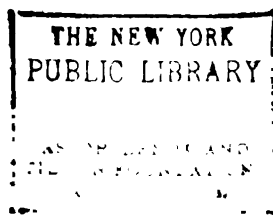
So much is said of President Roosevelt as a Ranchman, and his Ranch, that we must quote his own description of it with the annotation that it is evident, from the immense amount of highly wrought literary matter that appears in the book list, and other works, for we have not failed to gather up and formulate the fragments, that the Ranch Life has afforded the retirement, and quiet, the chances of exclusiveness, varied by the hunting experiences, so charming and familiar to the young men of the country. The Statesman of the ranch writes:

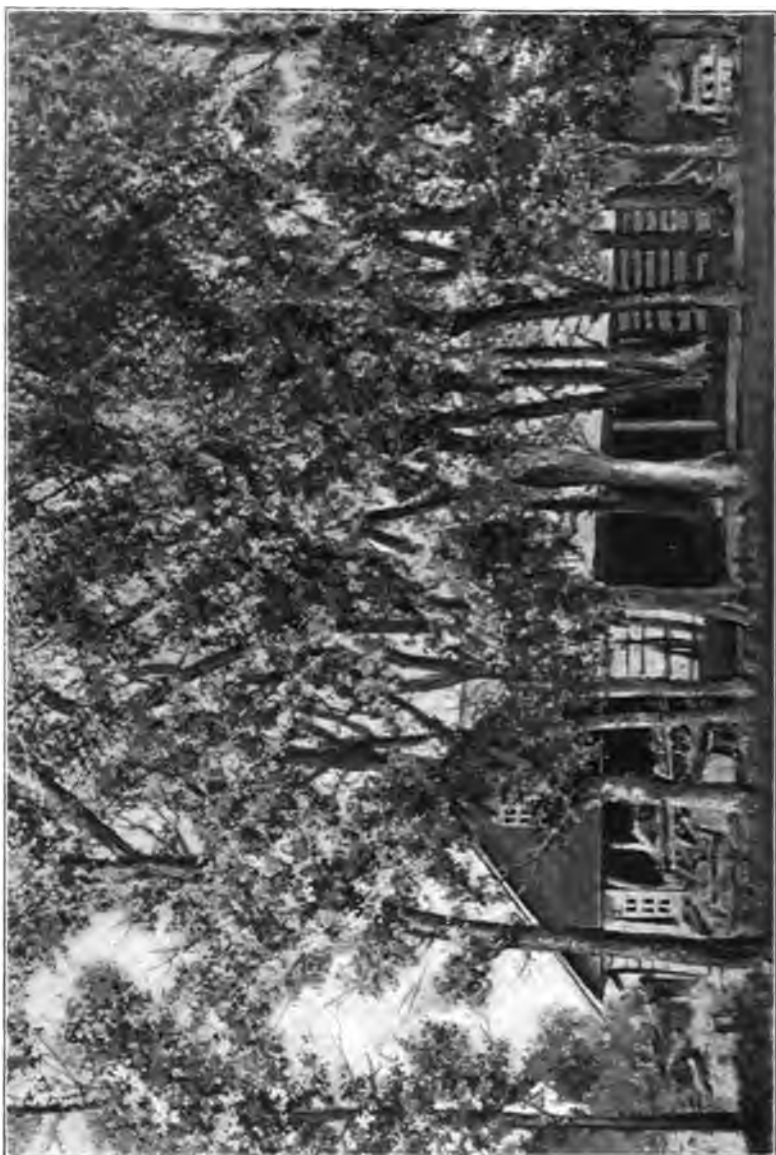
"My home ranch lies on both sides of the Little Missouri, the nearest ranchman above me being about twelve, and the nearest below me about ten miles distant. The general course of the stream here is northerly, but, while flowing through my ranch, it takes a great westerly reach of some three miles, walled in, as always, between chains of steep, high bluffs, half a mile or more apart. The stream twists down through the valley in long sweeps, leaving oval wooded bottoms, first on one side and then on the other; and in an open glade among the thick growing timber stands the long, low house, of hewn logs.

"Just in front of the ranch veranda is a line of old cottonwoods that shade it during the fierce heats of summer, rendering it always cool and pleasant. But a few feet beyond these trees comes the cut off bank of the river, through whose broad, sandy bed the shallow stream winds as if lost, except when a freshet fills it from brim to brim with foaming yellow water. The bluffs that wall in the river valley curve back in semi-circles, rising from its alluvial bottom generally as abrupt cliffs, but often as steep, grassy slopes that lead up to great level plateaus; and the line is broken every mile or two by the entrance of a coulee, on dry creek, whose head branches may be twenty miles back. Above us, where the river comes round the bend, the valley is very narrow, and the high buttes bounding rise sheer and barren, into scalped hill peaks and naked knife-blade ridges. The other buildings stand in the same open glade with the ranch house, the dense growth of cottonwoods and matted, thorny underbrush making a wall all about, through which we have chopped our wagon roads and trodden out our own bridle paths. The cattle have now trampled down this brush a little, but deer still lie in it, only a couple of hundred yards from the house; and from the door sometimes in the evening one can see them peer out into the open, or make their way down, timidly and cautiously to drink at the river. The stable, sheds and other out-buildings, with the hayricks and the pens for such cattle as we bring in during winter, are near the house; the patch of fenced garden land is on the edge of the woods; and near the middle of the glade stands the high, circular horse corral, with a snubbing post in the centre, and a wing built out from one side of the gate entrance, so that the saddle band can be driven in without trouble."

The first guide of President Roosevelt in a buffalo hunt, has mentioned it. His name is Ferris, and tells of Roosevelt's railroad arrival, 1883, on a September day, and the buffalo ranges were fifty miles away, over a badly broken country. He describes Roosevelt as a "thin young man, plainly dressed." "It meant hard work to get a buffalo at that time, and whether the thin young man could stand the trip was a question, but Roosevelt was on horseback and he rode better than I did, and could stand just as much knocking about as I could.

"On the first night out, when we were twenty-five or thirty miles from a





THE ELK HORN RANCH

settlement, we went into camp on the open prairie, with our saddle blankets over us, our horses picketed and the picket ropes tied about the horns of our saddles, which we used for pillows. In the middle of the night there was a rush, our pillows were swept from under our heads and our horses went tearing off over the prairie, frightened by wolves.

"Roosevelt was up and off in a minute after the horses.

"On the fourth or fifth day out, I think it was, our horses pricked up their ears and I told Roosevelt there was a buffalo close at hand. We dismounted and advanced to a big 'washout' near, peered over its edge, and there stood a huge buffalo bull, calmly feeding and unaware of our presence.

" 'Hit him where that patch of red shows on his side,' said I, 'and you've got him.'

"Roosevelt was cool as a cucumber, took a careful aim and fired. Out came the buffalo from the washout, with blood pouring from his mouth and nose. 'You've shot him,' I shouted, and so it proved, for the buffalo plunged a few steps and fell."

One of the early and useful friends of Roosevelt in the Wild West among the Rough Riders, was Colonel Cody, the famous Buffalo Bill, and many a wild ride they had. One of the most fearless and tireless of riders, Roosevelt was never fond of breaking the bucking bronchos, as seen in the shows of his friend on horseback. There were better ways of expending strength, and his plan of life was the useful investment of all his resources.

He went into the cattle business, and started with five hundred steers, and his guide remarks: "He worked for a part of a season as a cowboy. He had his own 'string' of horses and they were as ugly and ill-tempered as the majority of cow-horses. He was not a broncho-breaker, as he has been pictured to be, and he took no unnecessary chances in mounting or endeavoring to tame an especially ugly horse. But he did not shrink from riding his own horses when they cut up the customary capers of mustangs, and although he was sometimes thrown and on one or two occasions pretty badly bruised and hurt, he stuck to his mounts until he had mastered them."

President Roosevelt is not only the hero of a great number of the Bear stories of the country—for bear stories are a literature by themselves—but he tells the stories of others' adventures with big bears in a captivating way. He is death on bears with a rifle, and brings them to life with his pen. He says:

"In 1872, near Fort Wingate, New Mexico, two soldiers of a cavalry regiment came to their death at the claws of a grizzly bear. The army surgeon who attended them told me the particulars, as far as they were known. The men were mail carriers, and one day did not come in at the appointed time. Next day, a relief party was sent out to look for them, and after some search found the bodies of both as well as that of one of the horses. One of the men showed

signs of life; he came to his senses before dying and told the story. They had seen a grizzly and pursued it on horseback, with their Spencer rifles. On coming close, one had fired into its side, when it turned with marvelous quickness for so large and unwieldy an animal, and struck down the horse, at the same time inflicting a ghastly wound on the rider. The other man dismounted and came up to the rescue of his companion. The bear then left the latter and attacked the other. Although hit by the bullet, it charged home and threw the man down, and then lay on him and deliberately bit him to death, while his groans and cries were frightful to hear. Afterward it walked off into the bushes without again offering to molest the already mortally wounded victim of its first assault.

"Any one of the big bears we killed on the mountains would, I should think, have been able to make short work of either a lion or a tiger; for the grizzly is greatly superior in bulk and muscular power to either of the great cats, and its teeth are as large as theirs, while its claws, though blunter, are much longer; nevertheless, I believe that a lion or a tiger would be fully as dangerous to a hunter or other human being, on account of the superior speed of its charge, the lightning-like rapidity of its movements, and its apparently sharper senses.

"A hunter at the foot of the Bighorn Mountains had chased a large bear and finally wounded him. The animal turned at once and came straight at the man, whose second shot missed. The bear then closed and passed on, after striking only a single blow; yet that one blow, given with all the power of its thick, immensely muscular forearm, armed with nails as strong as so many hooked steel spikes, tore out the man's collar-bone and snapped through three or four ribs. He never recovered from the shock and died that night.

"A neighbor of mine has a small ranch on the Little Missouri. He was out on a mining trip, and was prospecting with two other men near the head-water of the Little Missouri, in the Black Hills country. They were walking down along the river, and came to a point of land, thrust out into it, which was densely covered with brush and fallen timber. Two of the party walked round by the edge of the stream; but the third, a German, and a very powerful fellow, followed a well beaten game trail, leading through the bushy point. When they were some forty yards apart the two men heard an agonized shout from the German, and at the same time the loud coughing growl, or roar, of a bear. They turned just in time to see their companion struck a terrible blow on the head by a grizzly, which must have been roused from its lair by his almost stepping on it; so close was it that he had no time to fire his rifle, but merely held it up over his head as a guard. Of course it was struck down, the claws of the great brute at the same time shattering his skull like an egg-shell."

The reputation of the President for believing himself to be an uncommonly

good shot, is a mistake. He says: "My eyes are bad and my hand is not over steady. I can never hope to be a very fine shot."

His idea of a thrill is quite original, if not altogether delightful. While hunting alone in Idaho, he was rushed by a wounded grizzly, and himself relates the happy experience, the most thrilling of his life, he says:

"I held true, aiming behind the shoulder, and my bullet shattered the point or lower end of his heart, taking out a big nick. Instantly the great bear turned with a harsh roar of fury and challenge, blowing the bloody foam from his mouth, so that I saw the gleam of his white fangs: and then he charged straight at me, crashing and bounding through the laurel bushes, so that it was hard to aim. I waited until he came to a fallen tree, raking him as he topped it, with a ball which entered his chest, and went through the cavity of his body; but he neither swerved nor flinched, and at the moment I did not know that I had struck him. He came steadily on, and in another second was almost upon me. I fired for his forehead, but my bullet went low, entering his open mouth, smashing his lower jaw and going into his neck. I leaped to one side almost as I pulled the trigger; and through the hanging smoke, the first thing I saw was his paw as he made a vicious side blow at me. The rush of his charge carried him past. As he struck he lurched forward, leaving a pool of bright blood where his muzzle hit the ground; but he recovered himself, and made two or three jumps onward, while I hurriedly jammed a couple of cartridges into the magazine, my rifle holding only four, all of which I had fired. Then he tried to pull up; but as he did so, his muscles seemed suddenly to give way, his head dropped, and he rolled over and over like a shot rabbit. Each of my first three bullets had inflicted a mortal wound."

The reason why he is so successful in killing game, is he is as cool in firing at a beast as in target shooting. He says, in his "Shooting Trips of a Ranchman," which abounds with sport and information:

"Our Western hunters are, as a body, to the full as good marksmen as, and probably much better than, any other body of men in the world, not even excepting the Dutch Boers or Tyrolese Jagers, and a certain number of them who shoot a great deal at game, and are able to squander cartridges very freely, undoubtedly become crack shots and perform really wonderful feats. As an instance, there is old 'Vic,' a former scout and Indian fighter, and concededly the best hunter on the Little Missouri; probably there are not a dozen men in the West who are better shots or hunters than he is, and I have seen him do more skillful work. He can run the muzzle of his rifle through a board so as to hide the sights, and yet do quite good shooting at some little distance; he will cut the head off a chicken at eighty or ninety yards, shoot a deer running through brush at that distance, kill grouse on the wing early in the season, and knock over antelopes when they are so far off that I should not dream of shoot-

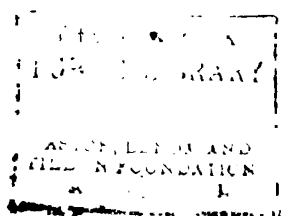
ing. He firmly believes, and so do most men that speak of him, that he never misses. Yet I have known him make miss after miss at game, and some that were not especially difficult shots either. One secret of his success is his constant practice. He is firing all the time at marks, small birds, etc., etc., and will average from fifty to a hundred cartridges a day; he certainly uses nearly twenty thousand a year."

The President says of the old time hunters, that nearly a hundred years ago they struck out beyond the Mississippi, "steered their way across the flat and endless seas of grass, or pushed up the valleys of the great lonely rivers, crossed the passes that wound among the towering peaks of the Rockies, toiled over the melancholy wastes of sage brush and alkali, and at last, breaking through the gloomy woodland that belts the coast, they looked out on the heaving waves of the greatest of all the oceans."

He adds there are not many of them left now. "The basin of the Upper Missouri was their last stronghold, being the last great hunting ground of the Indians, with whom the white trappers were always fighting and bickering, but who nevertheless by their presence protected the game that gave the trappers their livelihood. My cattle were among the very first to come into the land, at a time when the buffalo and beaver still abounded, and then the old hunters were common. Many a time I have hunted with them, spent the night in their smoky cabins, or had them as guests at my ranch. But in a couple of years after the inrush of the cattlemen, the last herds of the buffalo were destroyed, and the beaver were trapped out of all the plains' streams."

This story by the President of Big Horned Sheep, relates largely to the art of keeping warm. He says:

"We started by starlight. The snow lay several inches deep on the ground; the whole land was dazzling white. It was very cold. Within the ranch everything was frozen solid in spite of the thick log walls; but the air was so still and clear that we did not realize how low the temperature was. Accordingly, as the fresh horse I had to take was young and wild, I did not attempt to wear my fur coat. I soon felt my mistake. The windless cold ate into my marrow; and when, shortly after the cloudless winter sunrise, we reached our hunting grounds and picketed out the horses, I was already slightly frost bitten. But the toil of hunting over the snow covered crags soon made me warm. All day we walked and climbed through the white wonderland. On every side the snowy hills, piled one on another, stretched away, chain after chain, as far as sight could reach. The stern and iron-bound land had been changed to a frozen sea of billowy, glittering peaks and ridges. At last, late in the afternoon, three great big horn suddenly sprang up to our right and crossed the table land in front of and below us at a strong, stretching gallop. The lengthening sunbeams glinted on their mighty horns; their great supple brown bodies





TROPHIES OF THE CHASE

were thrown out in bold relief against the white landscape; as they plowed their long strides through the powdery snow, their hoofs tossed it up in masses of white spray. On the left of the plateau was a ridge, and as they went up this I twice fired at the leading ram, my bullets striking under him. On the summit he stopped and stood for a moment looking back three hundred and fifty yards off, and my third shot went fairly through his lungs. He ran over the hill as if unharmed, but lay down a couple of hundred yards on, and was dead when we reached him. It was after nightfall when we got back to the horses, and we rode home by moonlight. To gallop in such weather insures freezing; so the ponies shambled along at a single foot trot, their dark bodies white with hoar frost, and the long icicles hanging from their lips. The cold had increased steadily; the spirit thermometer at the ranch showed twenty-six degrees Fahrenheit below zero. We had worked all day without food or rest, and were very tired. On the ride home I got benumbed before I knew it and froze my face, one foot and both knees. Even my companion, who had a great coat, froze his nose and cheeks. Never was a sight more welcome than the gleam of the fire-lit ranch windows to us that night. But the great ram's head was a trophy that paid for all."

We have here a pen-picture of the plains when the nights are long:

When the days have dwindled to their shortest, and the nights seem never ending, then all the great northern plains are changed into an abode of iron desolation. Sometimes furious gales blow out of the north, driving before them the clouds of blinding snow dust, wrapping the mantle of death round every unsheltered being that faces their unshackled anger. They roar in a thunderous bass as they sweep across the prairie or whirl through the naked canons; they shiver the great brittle cotton-woods, and beneath their rough touch the icy limbs of the pines that cluster in the gorges sing like the chords of an Aeolian harp. Again, in the coldest midwinter weather, not a breath of wind may stir; and then the still, merciless, terrible cold that broods over the earth like the shadow of silent death seems even more dreadful in its gloomy rigor than is the lawless madness of the storms. All the land is like granite; the great rivers stand still in their beds, as if turned to frosted steel. In the long nights there is no sound to break the lifeless silence. Under the ceaseless, shifting play of the Northern Lights, or lighted only by the witty brilliance of the stars, the snow-clad plains stretch out into dead and endless wastes of glimmering white.

The President gives this good story of hunting a flock a geese that provoked him:

"They were clustered on a high sandbar in the middle of the river, which here ran in a very wide bed between low banks. The only way to get at them was to crawl along the river-bed, which was partly dry, using the patches of

rushes and the sand hillocks and drift-wood to shield myself from their view. As it was already late and the sun was just sinking, I hastily retreated a few paces, dropped on the bank, and began to creep along on my hands and knees through the sand and gravel. Such work is always tiresome, and is especially so when done against time. I kept in line with a great log washed up on the shore, which was some seventy-five yards from the geese. On reaching it and looking over, I was annoyed to find that in the fading light I could not distinguish the birds clearly enough to shoot, as the dark river bank was behind them. I crawled ahead quickly. Peeping over the edge I could now see the geese, gathered into a clump with their necks held straight out, sharply outlined against the horizon; the sand flats stretching out on either side, while the sky above was barred with gray and faint crimson. I fired into the thickest of the bunch, and as the rest flew off, with discordant clamor, ran forward and picked up my victim, a fat young wild goose (or Canada goose), the body badly torn by the bullet."

On another occasion:

"I had been out after antelopes, starting before there was any light in the heavens, and pushing straight out towards the rolling prairie. After two or three hours, when the sun was well up, I neared where a creek ran in a broad, shallow valley. I had seen no game, and before coming up to the crest of the divide beyond which lay the creek bottom, I dismounted and crawled up to it, so as to see if any animal had come down to drink. Field glasses are almost always carried while hunting on the plains, as the distances at which one can see game are so enormous. On looking over the crest with the glasses the valley of the creek for about a mile was stretched before me. At my feet the low hills came closer together than in other places, and shelved abruptly down to the bed of the valley, where there was a small grove of box-alders and cottonwoods. The beavers had, in times gone by, built a large dam at this place across the creek, which must have produced a great back-flow and made a regular little lake in the times of freshets. But the dam was now broken, and the beavers, or most of them, gone, and in the place of the lake was a long green meadow. Glancing towards this my eye was at once caught by a row of white objects stretched straight across it, and another look showed me that they were snow geese. They were feeding, and were moving abreast of one another slowly down the length of the meadow towards the end nearest me, where the patch of small trees and brushwood lay. A goose is not as big game as an antelope; still I had never shot a snow goose, and we needed fresh meat, so I slipped back over the crest and ran down to the bed of the creek, round a turn of the hill, where the geese were out of sight. The creek was not an entirely dry one, but there was no depth of water in it except in certain deep holes; elsewhere it was a muddy ditch with steep sides, difficult to cross on horseback

because of the quicksands. I walked up to the trees without any special care, as they screened me from view, and looked cautiously out from behind them. The geese were acting just as our tame geese act in feeding on a common, moving along with their necks stretched out before them, nibbling and jerking at the grass as they tore it up by mouthfuls. They were very watchful, and one or the other of them had its head straight in the air looking sharply round all the time. Geese will not come near any cover in which foes may be lurking if they can help it, and so I feared that they would turn before coming near enough to the brush to give me a good shot. I therefore dropped into the bed of the creek, which wound tortuously along the side of the meadow, and crept on all fours along one of its banks until I came to where it made a loop out towards the middle of the bottom. Here there was a tuft of tall grass, which served as a good cover, and I stood upright, dropping my hat, and looking through between the blades. The geese, still in a row, with several yards' interval between each one and his neighbor, were only sixty or seventy yards off, still feeding towards me. They came along quite slowly, and the ones nearest, with habitual suspicion, edged away from the scattered tufts of grass and weeds which marked the brink of the creek. I tried to get two in line, but could not. There was one gander much larger than any other bird in the lot, though not the closest to me; as he went by just opposite my hiding place, he stopped still, broadside to me, and I aimed just at the root of the neck—for he was near enough for any one firing a rifle from a rest to hit him about where he pleased. Away flew the others, and in a few minutes, I was riding along with the white gander dangling behind my saddle."

One of the great feats of the President with his rifle was in his last interview with Old Ephraim, the Great Grizzly of Montana. The story is almost pathetic as told by the victor in the engagement, for the grand old bear does not seem to have had any chance. The bear signs were found in the midst of pine trees, and the hunter had a thrill when,

"The beast's footprints were perfectly plain in the dust, and he had lumbered along up the path until near the middle of the hillside, where the ground broke away and there were hollows and boulders. Here there had been a wind-fall, and the dead trees lay among the living, piled across one another in all directions; while between and around them sprouted up a thick growth of young spruces and other evergreens. The trail turned off into the tangled thicket, within which it was almost certain we should find our quarry. We could still follow the tracks, by the slight scrapes of the claws on the bark, or by the bent and broken twigs; and we advanced with noiseless caution, slowly climbing over the dead tree trunks and upturned stumps, and not letting a branch rustle or catch on our clothes. When in the middle of the thicket we crossed what was almost a breastwork of fallen logs, and Merrifield, who was leading, passed

by the upright stem of a great pine. As soon as he was by it, he sank suddenly on one knee, turning half round, his face fairly aflame with excitement; and as I strode past him, with my rifle at the ready, there, not ten steps off, was the great bear, slowly rising from his bed among the great spruces. He had heard us, but apparently hardly knew exactly where or what we were, for he reared up on his haunches sideways to us. Then he saw us, and dropped down again on all fours, the shaggy hair on his neck and shoulders seemed to bristle as he turned toward us. As he sank down on his forefeet I had raised the rifle; his head was bent slightly down, and when I saw the top of the white head fairly between his small, glittering, evil eyes, I pulled trigger. Half rising up, the huge beast fell over on his side in the death throes, the ball having gone into his brain, striking fairly between the eyes as if the distance had been measured by a carpenter's rule. The whole thing was over in twenty seconds from the time I caught sight of the game; indeed, it was over so quickly that the grizzly did not have time to show fight at all or come a step toward us. It was the first I had ever seen, and I felt not a little proud, as I stood over the great brindled bulk, which lay stretched out at length in the cool shade of the evergreens. He was a monstrous fellow, much larger than any I have seen since, whether alive or brought in dead by the hunters. As near as we could estimate (for of course we had nothing with which to weigh more than very small portions) he must have weighed about twelve hundred pounds."

Strange as it may seem the President acknowledges that sometimes in his Little Missouri Ranch he seated himself on his porch, but the result was he would rock gently to and fro, gazing sleepily out at the weird looking buttes opposite, until their sharp outlines grow indistinct and purple in the afterglow of the sunset: "The story-high house of hewn logs is clean and neat, with many rooms, so that one can be alone if one wishes to. The nights in summer are cool and pleasant, and there are plenty of bear-skins and buffalo robes, trophies of our own skill, with which to bid defiance to the bitter cold of winter. In summer time we are not much within doors, for we rise before dawn and work hard enough to be willing to go to bed soon after nightfall. The long winter evenings are spent sitting round the hearthstone, while the pine logs roar and crackle, and the men play checkers or chess, in the fire light. The rifles stand in the corners of the room or rest across the elk antlers which jut out from over the fireplace. From the deer horns ranged along the walls, and thrust into the beams and rafters, hang heavy overcoats of wolf-skin or coon-skin, and otter fur or beaver fur caps and gauntlets. Rough board shelves hold a number of books, without which some of the evenings would be long indeed.

"In the still fall nights, if we lie awake we can listen to the clanging cries of the water-fowl, as their flocks speed southward; and in cold weather the coyotes occasionally come near enough for us to hear their uncanny wailing.

The larger wolves, too, now and then join in, with a kind of deep, dismal howling; but this melancholy sound is more often heard when out camping than from the ranch-house. The charm of ranch life comes in its *freedom*, and the vigorous open-air existence it forces a man to lead."

CHAPTER IV.

A NATIONAL FIGURE IN 1884.

Theodore Roosevelt Leads New York Delegation in a National Convention, When Twenty-Six Years of Age—He Broke All Records as a Young Leader, and Kept Party Faith—McKinley and He in Debate.

THE XXVth President of the United States first appeared in national political life, as a young athlete, bounding into the arena, a man of twenty-six years and leader of the Republican delegation of New York, June 3rd, 1884, in the National Political Convention that nominated Blaine for president. His official services were limited to membership of the Assembly of his State, but he was a conspicuous figure and factor in the proceedings. In the seventeen years since, his countrymen have had constant occasion to be interested in him, and he has largely influenced the public opinion of the country.

The Hon. Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, was proposed, at the request of the National Republican Committee, as Temporary Chairman of the Convention. This was meant as a compliment to the Republicans of the South. Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts, took the floor, and said it was the right of the Convention to revise the suggestion; and without any view of personal contest, but simply to make a nomination which would have the best political effect, he moved to substitute the name of the Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, and asked that the roll might be called on that question. The motion was seconded by Mr. Dutcher, of New York. There was opposition to the change. It was really a question between the white and the colored delegates from the South, whether the honor of the Temporary Chairmanship should be placed upon a white or black man. Mr. Clayton is the present Minister to Mexico, and Mr. Lynch, a distinguished and influential colored citizen. Mr. George William Curtis, of New York, said: "In the person of Mr. Lynch, we offer you a representative of those people who, in great part, and at unspeakable cost, constitute the Republican party and the citizens whom he represents."

Mr. Ben F. Prentiss, of Missouri, said he entertained the idea that a refusal to endorse the recommendation of the National Committee would

go forth as a stigma upon General Powell Clayton. He said: "Go cautiously, gentlemen, for we would not succeed in placing a more fitting servant in the Chair than General Powell Clayton." At this point the official proceedings of the Convention read as follows:

"Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York—I trust that the motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lodge) will be adopted, and that we will select as Chairman of this Convention that representative Republican, Mr. Lynch, of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, it has been said by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stewart) that it is without precedent to reverse the action of the National Committee. Who has not known numerous instances where the action of a State Committee has been reversed by the State Convention? Not one of us but has known such instances. Now there are, as I understand it, but two delegates to this Convention who have seats on the National Committee and I hold it to be derogatory to our honor, to our capacity of self-government, to say that we must accept the nomination of a presiding officer by another body, and that our hands are tied and we dare not reverse its action.

"Now, one word more. I trust that the vote will be taken by individual members, and not by States. Let each man stand accountable to those he represents for his vote. Let no man be able to shelter himself behind the shield of his State. What we say is, that one of the cardinal doctrines of the American political government is the accountability of each man to his people, and let each man stand up here and cast his vote, and then go home and abide by what he has done. It is now, Mr. Chairman, less than a quarter of a century since, in this city, the great Republican party for the first time organized for victory, and nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, who broke the fetters of the slave and rent them asunder forever. It is a fitting thing for us to choose to preside over this Convention or of that race whose right to sit within these walls is due to the blood and the treasure so lavishly spent by the founders of the Republican party. And it is but a further vindication of the principles for which the Republican party so long struggled. I trust that the Hon. Mr. Lynch will be elected Temporary Chairman of this Convention."

Mr. Roosevelt carried the roll call, and at the end of it, General Clayton, who had been absent when the State of Arkansas voted, arose and said, he desired to vote for Mr. Lynch. The record was made and the vote stood; Lynch, 424 Clayton, 384. Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, voted for Clayton. When the vote had been declared, upon motion of General Clayton, the nomination of Lynch was made unanimous.

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, was the member from that State of the Committee on Resolutions, and after the regular report, one was

introduced in the Convention, stating that all members were bound in honor to support the nominees of the Convention.

George A. Knight, of California, hoped that "No honest Republican would dare to stand on the floor of the Convention and vote down that resolution." He said there were already whisperings in the air that "men who once stood high in the Republican party, openly avowed they would not support one man if he be nominated by the Convention." The reference was to Mr. Blaine as the nominee, and to Mr. Curtis, of New York, as one who might be a bolter. There was not authority for saying so; but there were expressions of opinion to the effect that he would in any event be against Mr. Blaine, and he was pointedly indicated when Mr. Knight said: "Let all those, be they editors of newspapers or conducting great periodical journals, who refuse to support the nominee—let them be branded, that they not only come here and violate the implied faith that was put in them, but the direct and honest convictions of the Convention expressed by direct vote upon that subject."

Mr. Curtis, touched by the remark of Mr. Knight, took the floor, and said: "A Republican and a free man I came to this Convention. By the grace of God, a Republican and a free man I will go out of this Convention." He then recited the recall of Joshua R. Giddings, twenty-four years before, when he was retiring from the Convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln, giving this personal incident of Giddings' movement to pass out of the Convention: "As he passed my chair, and I reached out my hand (I was well-nigh a boy, and unknown to him), I said, 'Sir, where are you going?' He said to me: 'Young man, I am going out of this Convention, for I find no place in a Republican Convention for an original anti-slavery man like me.'" Mr. Giddings yielded to persuasion and took his seat, as Mr. Curtis told it, "by a universal roar of assent." The speech of Mr. Curtis then caused the recall of Giddings.

Mr. Curtis added: "The gentleman last upon the floor says that he dares any man upon the floor to vote against that resolution, I say to him, in reply, that the practical man has to do his part in the maintenance of the solid integrity of the political organization to which he is attached; that the presentation of such a resolution in such a Convention as this is a stigma, is an insult, to every honorable member who sits here.

"Ah, Mr. Chairman, this question is not a new question. In precisely, if I do not mistake, the same terms in which this is couched, it was brought up in the last Republican Convention. And a man from West Virginia—I honor his name—that man said, in the face of the roar of the gallery, in the face of all dissent—Mr. Campbell, of West Virginia—'Hold! I am a Repub-

lican who carries his sovereignty under his own hat.' Now, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Campbell's position in that Convention was supported by the wise reflection and afterthought of the Republican Convention, of 1880, under the lead of the great immortal leader, whose face confronts us there—James A. Garfield, of Ohio—under the lead of Garfield I remind my friend from California, the Convention, in taking its action, induced the gentleman who represented the resolution to withdraw the resolution from the consideration of the Convention. Now, sir, in the light of the character of the Republican party, in the light of the action of the last Republican Convention, the first Convention which I have known in which such a pledge was required of candidates or the members, I ask this Convention—mindful of all that hangs upon the wisdom, the moderation, the tolerance, the patriotism of our action—I beg this Convention to remember Lincoln, to remember Garfield, to remember the very vital principles of the Republican party, and assume that every man here is an honest and an honorable man; and vote down this resolution, which should never have appeared in a Republican Convention, as unworthy to be ratified by this concourse of free men that I see before me."

Mr. Dolph, of Oregon, moved to lay the resolution on the table. Mr. Hawkins, of Tennessee, who had introduced it, said: "Before the vote on that resolution shall be taken, I wish to withdraw it; it was voted for in the last Convention by Chester A. Arthur and James A. Garfield."

The silence of Mr. Roosevelt, who was, though perhaps the youngest man in the Convention, the head of the New York delegation, through this interesting debate—the fact that he did not take the floor and add his voice to that of Mr. Curtis, is testimony of the instinctive understanding he had, and which he has often manifested, as consistent with the very ideals of personal independence in public affairs, that the practical man is under the obligation to uphold the authority of organization.

One of the noticeable things in the career of President Roosevelt is, that while he is the youngest President of the United States, by several years, the beginning of his leadership and of his good faith with the organization of the party to which he declared his allegiance, was a long time ago, and has been illustrated in experiences of extraordinary variety and of wholesome educational influence.

It is no part of the purpose of this work that this chapter of it shall be a history of the Convention of 1884; but the study of the characteristics of that Convention, the individualities that were dominant in it, and the atmosphere of it, as they are associated with the words and actions of Mr. Roosevelt, as a member of it of much distinction, is most interesting and instructive.

There was associated in the New York delegation with Mr. Roosevelt, whose residence was New York City, Andrew D. White, President of Cornell University, residence Ithaca; George William Curtis, whose residence was West New Brighton, Staten Island; Silas B. Dutcher, of Brooklyn; John A. King, of Great Neck, Long Island; Anson G. McCook; Wm. H. Robertson; Benjamin B. Odell; Hamilton Fish, Jr.; Martin I. Townsend; Thomas C. Platt, of Owego, the Twenty-sixth District; James W. Wadsworth, of Genesee; James H. Husted, of Peekskill; John D. Lawson, of New York City.

Senator—then Governor—J. B. Foraker was the Chairman of the Ohio delegation; and the name of William McKinley, Jr., with the address of Canton, appears between that of Senator Foraker, of Cincinnati, and Senator Hanna, of Cleveland. Until the death of his father, President McKinley always wrote his name with the attachment "Jr."

When the Convention had under consideration the adoption of its rules, Mr. Thurston, of Nebraska, desired the rule read regarding the manner of balloting, stating it was not understood what number of votes was necessary to nominate. After some cross-firing, there was a movement that the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business should be adopted, and upon that motto, the previous question was demanded. The official report contains the following:

"Mr. Roosevelt, of New York—Will the gentleman give way for one moment for a question for information?

"The President—Does the gentleman yield?

"Mr. Bayne—I do not yield my motion. I will yield to the inquiry of the gentleman from New York.

"The President—The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves the adoption of the report, and upon that motion calls for the previous question.

"Mr. Roosevelt—The gentleman has given way to me for a question of information. I thank the gentleman for his courtesy. My question for information is, Has there not been a minority report prepared or presented, as I certainly understood there was to be by certain members of the committee, looking to reorganization of the representation in this Convention—in the next Convention? I did not understand, from the reading of the rules, and neither did several of the members who are round about me, what provisions, if any, were made for the representation of Republicans in future National Conventions; but I knew that there had been a strong feeling among certain members of the committee itself, as well as among the Convention at large, that there should be some reorganization by which the number of delegates to the next Convention should be more nearly proportionate to the Republican votes cast in their respective States; and I merely rose to ask if any such minority report had been presented.

"Mr. Parks—I stated, when I made my report, that the committee had withheld the report upon that resolution, and would make it as soon as the minority could prepare their report.

"Mr. Roosevelt—I did not understand that, and I did not distinctly hear the remarks made by the gentleman from California when he first got up. I withdraw the question."

When the platform reported to the Convention, the record reads:

"REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

"Mr. Bayne, of Pennsylvania—I would like to inquire of the Chair whether the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report.

"The President (Mr. McKinley of Ohio, in the chair)—The report of the Committee on Resolutions is ready; and if Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, will take the chair, I will read the report of the committee.

"Mr. Grow took the chair and said:—The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions will now report.

"Mr. McKinley, of Ohio—I am directed by the unanimous vote of the Committee on Resolutions to present the following report."

William McKinley was Chairman, and William Walter Phelps, Secretary, of the Platform Committee.

The reading of the report was clear, ringing, and most effective.

The nominating speeches were of great interest. The first was the presentation of the name of General Hawley, of Connecticut, by Mr. Brandegee. The second was the nomination of John A. Logan, the record says, by "Mr. Shelby M. Cullom, who came to the platform amid great applause." The third nomination was by Judge West, of Ohio, who presented the name of James G. Blaine. The late Senator Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota, seconded the nomination of Blaine. Colonel William Cassius Goodlow, of Kentucky, also seconded Mr. Blaine's nomination; and Mr. Thomas C. Platt, of New York, seconded also the nomination of Mr. Blaine, saying he did so with pleasure, believing that Blaine's turn had come, that expediency and justice demanded the nomination of Blaine, and the Republican people of the Republican States that must give the Republican majorities, wanted him. Mr. Galusha A. Grow also seconded the nomination. Mr. Martin I. Townsend, when New York was called, nominated Chester A. Arthur. Mr. Bingham, of Pennsylvania, seconded the nomination of Arthur. Mr. Lynch, of Mississippi, and Mr. Winston, of North Carolina, and Mr. Pinchback, of Louisiana, seconded the nomination of Arthur. Mr. Foraker, of Ohio, nominated John Sherman. Mr. Holt, of Kentucky, seconded the nomination of Sherman. Mr. J. D. Long, of Massachusetts, nominated George F. Edmunds; and Mr. George William Curtis, of New York, seconded the nomination. The speeches

of Mr. Long and Mr. Curtis were understood to be especially opposed to Mr. Blaine. The speech of Governor Long was an especially elegant production. That of Mr. Curtis was noticeable for its literary quality.

Governor Long said of Senator Edmunds: "Calumny dare not assail him; or if is dared, recoils as from a galvanic shock. Against no other candidate can less be said than against him. For no other candidate can more be said.

"I stand here, Mr. President, honored, though it were alone, with the duty of presenting his name to this Convention. But it is not I, it is not the State nor the delegates whom I here represent, who present that name to you. It is presented by uncounted numbers of our fellow-citizens, good men and true, all over this land, who only await this nomination to spring to the swift, hearty work of his election. It is presented by an intelligent press from Maine to California, representing a healthy public sentiment and an advanced public demand. It is the name of one whose letter of acceptance as an unsolicited honor, will constitute all the machinery he will have put into its procurement. It is the name which in itself is a guarantee of inflexible honesty in government, and of the best and wisest Cabinet the country can afford, with no man in it greater than its head. It is a guarantee of appointment to office, fit, clean, and disinterested all the way through; a guarantee of an administration which I believe, and which in your hearts you know, will realize, not only at home but abroad, the very highest conceptions of American citizenship.

"It is the name, too, which will carry over all the land a grateful feeling of serenity and security, like the benignant promise of a perfect day in June. It will be as wholesome and refreshing as the Green Mountains of the native State of him who bears it. Their summits tower not higher than his worth; their foundations are not firmer than his convictions and truth; the green and prolific slopes that grow great harvests at their feet are not richer than the fruitage of his long and lofty labors in the service of his country. Honest and capable, unexceptionable and fit, the best and the most available, the very staunchest of the old Republican guard, the most unflinching of American patriots, with the kindly heart of a courteous gentleman, as well as the robust, rugged mind of a great statesman, yet is he not more sternly just in the halls of Congress than tender in that sanctuary of the American heart, the American home.

"A man of no class, no caste, no pretense, but a man of the people, East, West, North, South, because a representative of their homeliest, plainest and best characteristics. Massachusetts, enthusiastically leaping her own borders, commends and nominates him, to this great Republican Convention, as the man it seeks, as the man of its instinctive and hearty choice, as the one man

whom its constituents everywhere will hail with an unbroken shout, not only of satisfaction, but of relief.

"Gentlemen, I nominate, as the Republican candidate for the next President of the United States, the Honorable—aye! the Honorable George F. Edmunds, of Vermont."

Mr. George William Curtis, of New York—"Mr. President and Gentlemen: I shall not repeat to you the splendid story of the Republican party; a story that we never tire of telling; that our children will never tire of hearing; a story which is written upon the heart of every American citizen, because it recounts greater services for liberty, for the country, for mankind, than those of any party in any other nation, at any other period of time.

"And what is the secret of this unparalleled history? It is simply that the Republican party has been always the party of the best instincts, of the highest desires of the American people. This is its special glory. It has represented the American instinct of nationality, American patriotism, and American devotion to liberty.

"Fellow Republicans, we have learned, and many of you whom our hearts salute, have learned upon fields more peaceful than this, that our foe is not a foe to be despised. He will feel our lines to find our weakest point. He will search the work of this Convention with electric light. He will try us by our candidate. And, therefore, the man to whom we commit the banner—the banner that Abraham Lincoln bore—must be, like Abraham Lincoln, a knight indeed; and like the old knight, a 'knight without fear and without reproach.' He must be a statesman, identified with every measure of the great Republican past, a pioneer in every measure of its future of reform; and in himself the pledge that the party will not only put its face forward, but will set its foot forward; and a pledge, also, that that mighty foot will trample and crush and utterly destroy whatever disgraces the public services, whatever defiles the Republican name, whatever defeats the just expectation of the country and of the Republican party."

The speech of Mr. Curtis was the last before the balloting began, but there was some discussion over contested delegates. The count from New York, in a contest over a rule which was artfully initiated, excited some interest. The vote of New York was declared by Mr. Curtis to be 29 aye, 43 no. Mr. Lawson questioned the correctness of the vote, and there was a roll call. The first name of the ayes was Anson McCook, and the second was W. H. Tobertson. The ayes were not twenty-nine, but twenty-eight. The first no was Theodore Roosevelt, the second Andrew White. Then came Curtis and Kind and Dutcher, Lawson, Odell, Hamilton Fish, Jr., and others, forty-four in number; so the vote of New York was corrected from twenty-nine ayes and forty-three noes, to twenty-eight ayes and forty-four noes—a contest

showing how keen was observation, and how intense the friction and fight for a single vote on a question of no material consequence.

The vote on the roll call was close, ayes, 391; noes, 410; majority against, 19. There was a motion that the Convention adjourn until the following morning. It was ruled that the order of business was a ballot. The confusion was great. A question arose whether a call for the previous question was sustained. Mr. Roosevelt said it had been seconded by New York. The demand to have the roll of States called was carried, and the President ordered the call. When it had proceeded to Illinois, there was an inquiry as to what question there was that the roll was being called about, and the President said it was to take a recess until eleven o'clock the next day. Several delegates said "To-day." The President remarked "To-day; Yes, it is after twelve o'clock now." There were motions to adjourn, cries that nothing could be heard, when Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, said: "I move to dispense with the call of the States. I understand the gentlemen all around us are willing that the motion to adjourn until eleven o'clock this morning shall prevail; and in that spirit I make that motion."

Mr. Burleigh—"I accept the amendment."

Mr. McKinley—"I make the motion that we suspend further call of the States, and take a vote viva voce to adjourn until eleven o'clock."

The Convention adjourned at 1:45 A. M. Friday, June the 6th, to eleven o'clock the same day.

The first thing the next Convention day was balloting for President, and as always, the State of Alabama was first. Her vote was: 1 for James G. Blaine, 1 for John A. Logan, and 17 for Arthur. Arkansas came next, and the applause that followed the names was so extraordinary that the clerks could not hear the vote to record it. There was necessary to a choice 411, Blaine had 334½; Arthur, 278; Edmunds, 93; John Sherman, 30, and William T. Sherman, 2. The two votes for General Sherman were given pursuant to an understanding that had a calculation in it. Mr. Blaine had communicated to several delegates and some other persons on the floor, among them the author of this book, that he did not desire the nomination, did not believe he ought to be nominated, because he did not think he could be elected, specified he couldn't be elected without New York, and, in his opinion, could not carry that State, and that the Convention could name a ticket that would be elected without doubt. His language was: "Nominate William Tecumseh Sherman for President, and Robert Todd Lincoln for Vice-President, and they will be elected by the singing of a song."

General Sherman was understood generally to be, under all circumstances, opposed to becoming a candidate for the Presidency; but the President of the Convention, Mr. Henderson, of Missouri (General Sherman at the time lived

in St. Louis, because as a General of the army he wanted to keep away from the War Department)—Mr. Henderson was of a different opinion. He thought General Sherman could have the matter put to him by the Convention in such a way that he would be obliged to feel that it was his duty to accept the Presidency, if he was elected, and that nothing more was wanted. One difficulty, however, it was impossible to overcome: General Sherman would certainly not consent to be used in the Convention in opposition to his brother, Senator John Sherman, who was a prominent candidate. On the first ballot John Sherman had thirty votes; and it was expected that Mr. Long, of Massachusetts, would, in order to rally the majority of the Convention against Blaine, cast the solid vote of Massachusetts on the second ballot for John Sherman. But Massachusetts did not find the time to cast her solid vote. There was a question much debated quietly throughout the Convention, whether the Edmunds men would go for General Sherman, if not for John Sherman, and be leading the way in so radical a course, to meet the views of Mr. Blaine by defeating him, and, at the same time, nominating his candidate. But there were a number of influences at work that made this plan impracticable; and the Edmunds men, it was presently ascertained, could not be united upon anybody else, and this reduced the force of any strategic proposals that included them.

In the third ballot Edmunds' vote declined from 85 to 69. William T. Sherman gained a vote, having received two from Michigan and one from Missouri. Robert T. Lincoln had four votes, one from Kentucky, two from New Hampshire, and one from New York. Mr. Carr, of Illinois, rose to a point of order, when Mr. Roosevelt said of the call of States: "North Carolina seconds it. New York, North Carolina, and Mississippi." The clerk the second time called Alabama. Mr. Spooner, of New York, rose to a point of order, that the roll was on a motion to adjourn, and that the call of the roll should be ordered by the Chair. Mr. Husted, of New York, shouted to the President, "Fair play here, sir." The President called the house to order. Mr. Husted, of New York, rose to a point of order, that the demand was not made until after the Chair had decided the motion, and here in the record we find the names of Roosevelt and McKinley together as follows:

"Mr. Roosevelt—I made the motion.

"Mr. McKinley, of Ohio—Gentlemen of the Convention: I hope no friend of James G. Blaine will object to having the roll call of the States made. Let us raise no technical objection; I care not when the question was raised. The gentlemen representing the different States here have a right to the voice of this Convention upon this subject, and, as a friend of James G. Blaine, I insist that all his friends shall unite in having the roll of States called, and then vote that proposition down."

The question was on adjournment. Roosevelt, White and Curtis voted for it; McCook, Robertson, Husted and Platt, against it. New York gave 42 ayes to 29 noes on the adjournment question. The vote indicated the supremacy of the Blaine influence, which was opposed to adjourning. There were 364 aye to 450 no. Judge Foraker moved the nomination of Blaine by acclamation. There were cries of "NO." Roosevelt called for the roll. A member from Wisconsin called for order. Foraker called "Mr. President," and the President gave him the floor. He made the motion that the rules be suspended and Blaine nominated by acclamation.

"Mr. Roosevelt—I ask that the roll be called.

"Mr. Burrows, of Michigan—Mr. President: I demand a call of the roll.

"Mr. Roosevelt—On behalf of New York I demand a call of the roll.

"Mr. Burrows—I demand a call of the roll. I hope my friend from Ohio will withdraw his motion to declare the nomination by acclamation and proceed to a ballot. (Cries of 'Withdraw, withdraw.')

"Mr. Foraker—In order that the time of this Convention may be saved, and at the request of several members, I withdraw the motion I made."

In the ballot there were thirty New York votes for Arthur, twenty-nine for Blaine, nine for Edmunds, one for Hawley, and one for Lincoln, Mr. Roosevelt voting for Edmunds. Foraker said that he presented, for what he supposed to be the best interests of the party, to the Convention the name of John Sherman, and had faithfully and most cordially supported him; but now in the interests of the party, withdrew him, and cast for Blaine the forty-six votes of his State. It required 411 votes to nominate; Mr. Blaine received 541. President Arthur sent to Mr. Blaine the following dispatch:

"To the Hon. James G. Blaine, Augusta, Me.—As the candidate of the Republican party, you will have my earnest and cordial support.

"CHESTER A. ARTHUR."

The nomination of Blaine was made unanimous. The Convention took a recess until the evening. The special business of the evening session was the nomination for Vice President of John A. Logan, who received 773 votes.

Mr. Lampson, of Ohio, spoke of the large majority Ohio would give to Blaine, of Maine, and to the grand old soldier Logan.

"Mr. Spooner, of New York—I have a resolution which I desire to offer.

"Mr. McKinley, of Ohio—Following the usual order of National Conventions, I move you that a committee be appointed to advise the nominees of this Convention of its action.

"Mr. Roots, of Arkansas—I second the motion.

"Mr. McKinley—Of which the President of this convention shall be Chairman."

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**PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AND VICE-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON STEPS
OF MCKINLEY RESIDENCE AT CANTON**

During the roll call for the vote on the nomination of Vice-President, Mr. Curtis, of New York, desired that the State be allowed a little time to complete the count, as she was "not quite ready to report her vote." Mr. Husted, of New York, asked that the rule might be suspended, so that other States might be called before New York. At the end of the roll call, New York was again called, and gave her vote—60 for Logan, 6 for Gresham, and 1 for Foraker. The official record continues:

"The President—The question now is, shall the nominations be made unanimous? And the motion was carried unanimously."

The Convention, was now substantially over. Of 820 votes, only 780 had been cast. The adjournment took place at 9:45 P. M., June the 6th.

Mr. Roosevelt's record in this Convention was a most uncommon one to be made by a man twenty-six years old. As the head of the delegation of the decisive State, as the politics of the country was divided at that time, he displayed throughout the exciting and at times tumultuous proceedings, the tenacity, intelligence, and courage characteristic of his whole career. He listened attentively to all suggestions, treated the rights of all delegates with respect, asserted his own views, and acted distinctly upon his own motion, neither driving nor consenting to be driven.

It was remarked that the Harvard men from New York and Boston were active before the Convention adjourned *sine die*, and there was much said by the delegates and spectators, including particularly the men of the press, that the two delegates-at-large, representing two great cities—one the metropolis of the continent, and the other of New England—would be "heard from hereafter;" and so it has turned out.

The Republican National Convention at Philadelphia, sixteen years later, was presided over by Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, and nominated by acclamation, lacking his own vote when the roll was called of unanimity, Governor Roosevelt, of New York, for the Vice-Presidency. The only opposition of a personal or political nature to this nomination, centred upon the Secretary of the Navy, Governor Long; and there was a small but able and earnest group of men, in years, youthful, but of marked accomplishments, who idealized Colonel Roosevelt, so that they held, that after being Governor of New York, he should never be a candidate for any office other than that of President of the United States. These gentlemen unwisely misapprehended the wants of the State of New York, and strangely disbelieved in the dignity of the office of Vice-President, and, curiously enough, undervalued the personal power of Mr. Roosevelt on the stump, and the potential prestige of his fame as a ranchman and as the discoverer and commander of the Rough Rider soldiers in the Spanish War.

Theodore Roosevelt breaks State and National records with his appear-

ance in the Republican Convention, of 1884, in his twenty-sixth year, at the head of the New York Delegation. Grant and Garfield were two of the four Presidents who took the oath of office when under fifty years of age—Grant forty-seven, Garfield forty-nine. The twenty-fifth President, at the age of forty-two years, ten months and two weeks, was a full Presidential term younger than any predecessor in the great office.

Two of the youngest men in the country, who entered the National army as boy soldiers, were McKinley, who was seventeen, and Foraker, sixteen, at the time of enlistment. There were rare cases of boys of fourteen and fifteen years getting into the ranks, and to the firing line, but there was no show for Theodore Roosevelt as a three-year-old boy. If he had been twelve years old, the probability is he would have reached the front through even greater difficulties than he experienced when he fought his way to the firing, fighting line.

CHAPTER V.

STARTING CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

Very Interesting Testimony—Business Advantages Gained—Funny Questions and Answers—The Conspicuous Lead of Roosevelt in the Crusade—Important Official Letter from Him.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT was appointed by President Harrison a member of the National Civil Service Commission, in May, 1889, and served to May, 1895. When he took office, the only Commissioner was Mr. Charles Lyman, of Connecticut. Honorable Hugh S. Thompson, ex-Governor of South Carolina, was made Commissioner at the same time Roosevelt was, and after serving for three years, resigned. He was succeeded by Mr. George D. Johnston, of Louisiana, removed by the President in November, 1893, and replaced by Mr. John R. Proctor, the former State Geologist of Kentucky.

It was a matter of fitness that Roosevelt was in substance chief of the Commission, and he took satisfaction in saying it "never varied a hand's breadth from its course" in all his six years. He had pleasure in making the remark: "In the Fifty-First and Fifty-Second Congresses, Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts, led the fight in the Lower House. He was supported by such party leaders as Messrs. Reed, of Maine, and McKinley, of Ohio, among the Republicans; and Messrs. Wilson, of West Virginia, and Sayers, of Texas, among the Democrats."

In his "American Ideals" and other essays, Mr. Roosevelt said it seemed of interest to "show exactly what has been done to advance the law and what to hinder its advancement, during these six years, and who have been the more prominent among its friends or foes." He continued, "I wish to tell 'the adventures of Philip on his way through the World,' and show who robbed him, who helped him, and who passed him by. It would take too long to give the names of all our friends, and it is not worth while to more than allude to most of our foes, and to most of those who were indifferent to us; but a few of the names should be preserved, and some record made of the fights that have been fought and won, and of the way in which, by fits and starts, and more than one setback, the general advance has been made."

It was an honor President McKinley appreciated, that his name was

placed by Theodore Roosevelt in the few he gave of the Representatives in Congress who were helpers of "Philip" on his way.

The Charleston, South Carolina, News and Courier said of the appointment of Civil Service Reform members of the Commission, that Harrison deserved credit, yet the delay in making appointments had been harmful; but, "at any rate," Harrison appointed two of the best men in the United States Civil Service Commissioners. The News and Courier added: "In character, ability, and devotion to the cause of reform, the new Commission is all that could be desired. Mr. Lyman, the hold-over member of the Commission, is thoroughly in sympathy with his work. In his recent address before the Civil Service Reform Association of New York, Mr. George William Curtis referred to Mr. Roosevelt, one of the new Commissioners, as one of the few 'recognized local leaders of the dominant party who have publicly insisted that the declared policy of the party on this subject shall be rejected.' The peculiar fitness of ex-Governor Thompson, of South Carolina, for the office to which he has just been appointed was recognized by Mr. Cleveland."

The Baltimore "American," May 27th, 1889, observed:

"Civil Service Reform is likely to receive more practical attention from the new Civil Service Commission appointed by President Harrison, and to make more progress under their wise supervision, than at the hands and through the methods of those who have somewhat superciliously proclaimed themselves its custodians."

In the Century Magazine for February, 1890, Theodore Roosevelt defined his Civil Service Reform position to be, "If a party victory meant that all the offices already filled by the most competent members of the defeated party were to be thereafter filled by the most competent members of the victorious party, the system would still be absurd, but would not be particularly baneful. In reality, however, this is not what the system of partisan appointments means at all. Wherever it is adopted it is inevitable that the degree of party service, or more often of service to some particular leader, and not merit, shall ultimately determine the appointment, even as among the different party candidates themselves. Once admit that it is proper to turn out an efficient Republican clerk in order to replace him by an efficient Democratic clerk, or vice versa, and the inevitable next step is to consider solely Republicanism or Democracy, and not efficiency, in making the appointment; while the equally inevitable third step is to consider only that peculiar species of Republicanism or Democracy which is implied in adroit and unscrupulous service rendered to the most influential local boss."

The Review of Reviews for August, 1890, referred to the effort of Mr. Schurz to defeat Colonel Roosevelt for Governor, as an instance of the manner in which "a cause like Civil Service Reform may suffer its worst wounds

at the hands of its friends," and continued: "Mr. Roosevelt stands before the country as the most eminent and influential Civil Service reformer the country has produced, with the exception of the Hon. Dorman B. Eaton, whose pioneer position with regard to this reform is historic. There was certainly as strong reason why Civil Service reformers should have supported Mr. Roosevelt as why they should have supported Mr. Schurz himself if he had been running for the governorship. Moreover, it is to be remembered that the only possible alternative was the turning over of the State of New York to the absolute control of Tammany Hall. The election came at a time when the interests of the State imperatively demanded that the Governor should be courageous, disinterested, and a believer in the principle of appointing men to office on the ground of their honesty and fitness. Fortunately the attitude of reformers like Mr. Schurz did not succeed in bringing upon the State of New York the calamity of Mr. Roosevelt's defeat. The voters were true to the real issues. But although the foremost American Civil Service reformer was put into a position to effect a vast improvement in the public service of the State of New York, the conduct of officers and leaders of the Civil Service Reform League in opposing him was undoubtedly a serious blow to the cause."

It was officially reported that from July 1st, 1890, to June 30th, 5,251 applicants were examined for the departmental service at Washington, of whom 3,366 passed and 1,885 failed to pass. For the customs service 1,579 were examined, 992 passed, and 587 failed; for the postal service 8,538 were examined, 5,840 passed, and 2,698 failed to pass; for the railway mail service, 3,706 were examined, 2,588 passed, and 1,118 failed to pass. The whole number examined for the four branches of the classified service was 19,074, of whom 12,786 passed and 6,288 failed to pass. Compared with the previous year this shows a decrease of 3,920 in the whole number examined, a decrease of 1,161 in the whole number who passed, and a decrease of 2,759 in the whole number who failed to pass. The whole number appointed in the year covered by this report is as follows: Departmental service, 1,152; customs service, 320; postal service, 2,861; and railway mail service, 1,062; total, 5,395.

"An excellent feature in the Southern States," the report held, "was the elimination not only of the questions of politics and religion, but of the question of race. A fair proportion of the men appointed from these States has been colored, these successful colored applicants being in many cases graduates of the colleges or higher institutions of learning established especially for their race. They rarely belonged to the class of colored politicians which has hitherto been apt to monopolize such appointments as colored men received at all. On the contrary, they were for the most part well educated, self-respecting, intelligent young men and women, who, having graduated from

their colored schools and colleges, found but few avenues open for the employment of their talents. It is impossible to estimate the boon to these colored men and women of being given the chance to enter the Government service on their own merits in fair competition with white and colored alike. It is noticeable that a much larger proportion of colored people receive appointments under the Civil Service law than under the old patronage system. The Civil Service law has been the means of materially enlarging the fields of pursuits open to those members of the colored race who have contrived to get a good education and to fit themselves for the higher walks of life."

This statement was signed by United States Civil Service Commissioners, Charles Lyman, Connecticut, President; Theodore Roosevelt, New York; Hugh S. Thompson, South Carolina.

Writing in 1895, Commissioner Roosevelt put the case in the words following: "Where we allow the offices to form part of an immense bribery chest, the effect upon political life is precisely the same as if we should allow the open expenditure of immense sums of money in bribing the voters. In New York State, for instance, there are over fifty thousand appointive offices under the National, State, and local governments. The average salary paid would be over \$500. This means that the aggregate annual salaries must be in the neighborhood of \$25,000,000. Suppose, however, that it is but \$10,000,000. Think what it means to our political life in that State to have a corruption fund of such size as to be scrambled for at every election. If \$10,000,000 were expended in bribery at every election, and the expenditure were allowed by law and connived at, or even applauded, by public sentiment, the effect would be to give immediate prominence to the men who had that money to spend, to the men who knew how it should be spent, and to the men who accepted it and did work in consideration of receiving it. In a very short time these three classes would monopolize nine-tenths of the influence and power in our political life, and decent people could overthrow them only in some time of special and great political excitement. This is precisely what happens under the spoils system.

"As soon as we cease to put a premium upon the political activity of the man who is in politics from the worst motives, and thereby remove the incentive for his political activity, we enormously, incalculably, increase the power for good. Now men feel that the struggle is hopeless because they are pitted against trained mercenaries paid out of the public chest. Remove these mercenaries from the political arena, and decent citizens will have the same chance that others have. The man most benefited by the Civil Service law is the plain, quiet citizen who does not want an office, but holds strong views on political affairs and believes that by every law of honesty and decency he is entitled to have his say in the management of our Republic."

practically all their lives in the districts from which they came. In the overwhelming majority of cases, these native-born Southern whites were Democrats."

Commissioner Roosevelt, of the Civil Service, it will be observed, was always on the outside of the breastworks, when the enemy showed themselves; and instead of waiting for them to fire on him, he fired on them and charged straight for them. He was eager to put forward the incidents of Civil Service reformation that the opponents of the system held to be most alarming. There were two classes of Southern people he had special pleasure to see secure appointments under the rules of the classified service: First, Democrats under a Republican Administration; and second, colored men of the States of the South.

A great many practical politicians beheld these things and read of them in Roosevelt's approving official reports with anger and a tendency to panic, but they made sure no man holding such deplorable principles could ever again be permitted to occupy a place of authority. The appearance of things was to that effect, for the Civil Service reformers as a rule, Roosevelt being the steadfast exception, were much more given to eloquence than to business. Roosevelt's early activities as a reformer were regarded effusions of his literary gifts that would soon extinguish themselves. However, he persevered, and seemed to have a faculty of picking up places according to his wish. When he got into a situation he expanded it, and the unexpected happened day after day. The astonishing feature of his proceedings was that they were based on calculation and took on business formations. This was a new style of reformation.

Civil Service Reform had hard times. It was not tenderly treated in the houses of its friends. There was a queer game played by one eminent person after another of getting his own folks snugly fixed, and then raising obstacles through Civil Service classification, to their removal; but this was not Roosevelt's method. He desired to cover additional ground and elevate it, did not confine himself to personal matters, but rushed the fixed rules and regulations, in the advance of which those in the way had to look out for the reaping machinery. He was not an apologist. At the critical hour of the great new policy of getting the Government to do business instead of playing politics, of course the Commissioner of New York was at the storm centre. President Cleveland had views of reform in several directions, but his tendencies did not seem to his partisans auspicious, and the Civil Service was largely personal in its nature—Republicans going out, and Democrats in—but mathematics displayed in this a certain movement of equalization. The crisis arrived when Harrison was inaugurated, and the Democracy lifted up their voices to the effect that reformation of the Civil Service was their own favorite way of

saving the country. President Harrison was not impetuous in seizing the thorny subject; and when two months elapsed and nothing remarkable occurred in the way of transformation, the country was just settled down to a calm condition when Roosevelt was appointed, and after four years, Cleveland continued him. This lap of Administration was the beginning of going into business on a legitimate basis.

The most impressive exhibition of the Civil Service work that is recorded is the testimony of Theodore Roosevelt, examined by Senator Lodge in an inquiry made by the Senate. Senator Lodge, in October, 1900, contributed his views to the *Century Magazine*, presenting the point that patronage in offices was un-American, and giving this account of the Civil Service in the early days of the Republic:

"In the interval between Jefferson and Jackson, political patronage subsided. Madison, long before his coming to the Presidency, had declared himself against removals without cause, which was the view of the younger Adams also, and probably of Monroe as well. The real cause, however, of the small number of changes during this period lay deeper than the personal views and characters of the Presidents. The long continuance of one party in power, followed by the disappearance of the Federalists and the merging of all parties—nominally at least—in one, was the efficient and obvious reason for the small number of changes under Madison, Monroe and Adams. The system, however, remained at bottom entirely unchanged, and when Jackson came into power with a new set of followers and a new set of ideas he merely put into active operation a practice which had slumbered for twenty years, but which had been the same from the beginning. Under Jackson the distribution of the offices for political purposes was extended and systematized, and the theory upon which it was done was thrown by Marcy into the famous formula, 'to the victors belong the spoils.' Dating the spoils system from Jackson's time, therefore, is dating it from the declaration of the formula, which has no real connection with either its origin or its practice. Since Jackson's day, as the Government has grown, political patronage has grown and spread, until it has assumed the enormous proportions with which the present generation is familiar. The effort to do away with it by an impersonal and disinterested machinery of appointment is a wholly modern idea, and not in any sense a reversion to the early practice of the Republic."

Testimony of the operation of the Civil Service law was taken in the course of the inquiry as to the execution of the law by the Senate Committee on Civil Service and retrenchment, February 1st, 1898, Commissioner John R. Proctor on the stand was examined by Senator Lodge, and instances given of the methods by which Postmasters managed to move Republican incumbents and to appoint Democratic successors without examination and

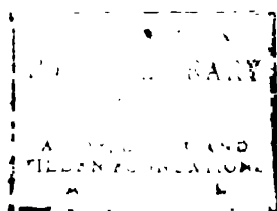
certification. There were cases cited at Portsmouth, Ohio, and Raleigh, North Carolina. One way of managing it was for a new Postmaster to bring with him from Washington a slip of paper prepared in one of the divisions of the Postoffice Department, which showed how the roster titles of his clerks could be changed to make it appear positions could be accepted because the occupants were custodians of money. In one case, an incumbent spent about half an hour a day in attending the money order window, and the rest of the time he was mailing clerk. In another case a registry and stamp clerk was rechristened as register and money order clerk, and then was discharged without offense and the successor was the son of the Postmaster and got into office without examination. Nothing was said about politics. The general delivery clerk was informed that he had been born again, and was styled the General Delivery and stamp clerk, upon which his services were dispensed with and he was succeeded by "a good and faithful Democrat without examination." This was in North Carolina, and a letter from the Postmaster dated July 13, 1894, contained this clause as to the Postmaster appointed to fill his place when Mr. Cleveland came in. The new Postmaster said he didn't like Republican clerks, and he shifted office several times "to the end ye Postmaster might bounce Republicans without charges and induct their Democratic successors without examination;" but he never said a word about politics. Mr. Proctor was on the stand giving statistics when Theodore Roosevelt came in, and was duly sworn and testified concerning his experiences in the Navy Department. He was held to be a very important witness because he had been Civil Service Commissioner, and was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and between times, for two years had been the President of the Police Board of New York. When asked what his experience had been as he had passed from the Civil Service Commission to an Executive Department—what were his experiences with the classified service, Assistant Secretary Roosevelt's reply was that the application of what was called Civil Service Reform through those departments worked an improvement; and more than that "it is practically indispensable if really good work is to be gotten out," and if the law was abolished the Navy Department would in self-defense have to re-establish it so far as it might by departmental regulation.

If the yards and the departments of the Navy were deprived of Civil Service regulations, it would mean that the great part of the time of every officer who ought to be engaged in the transaction of public business would be taken up in trying to reconcile conflicting claims to appointment. The Assistant Secretary produced what he called the little memorandum, saying the old system employing laborers in the navy yards in accordance with the wish of local politicians was in vogue when the new navy began to be built. The old system worked just about the same way under any secretary, and grew



THEODORE ROOSEVELT AT HIS DESK IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT,
DURING HIS SERVICE AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF THE NAVY (1897 AND 1898)

From a photograph by Clinedinst, Washington



so intolerable that Secretary Tracy put into effect a system of registration of laborers, almost completely eliminating politics from the laboring force. There had formerly been abuse in the way of employment of labor in the navy yards just before an election, and there was a law prohibiting such employment except in case of urgency. There was, of course, always an urgency. In the Presidential election of 1888, under the old system, there were on September 1st 1,400 employees in the Brooklyn navy yard, November 1st there were 2,500, and by December 1st, the number had shrunk to 1,400. In the next Presidential term the service was classified, registration established, and September 1, 1892, there were 2,200 men employed. November 1st, 150 less were employed. This change was credited to Harrison's term.

When Assistant Secretary Roosevelt took that position in the navy a bill for furniture for the Monitor Terror came to him to pass upon. It was an old bill. The expense had been incurred ten years, and the cost was ten times as much as it should have been, and the work was done at the navy yard. Officials had been reluctant to pass upon this bill. Bureaus cost \$400 apiece. Roosevelt refused to pass it; but it was regularly audited in every way, and it had to be passed. Then it was investigated, and the officers did not like to cast reflections upon their predecessors, and their predecessors did not have anything to do with employing the laborers; certain Congressmen were responsible. The Congressmen employed the men, the officers had to accept them, and the cost of bureaus was managed up to \$400 apiece. A great lot of voters put in were put to work on furniture. They "could with the least damage to the public service be employed in building furniture," Roosevelt's phrase. He went on to say he had investigated personally the navy yards of New York, League Island, Boston, and Norfolk, and all the officers informed him "That the change for the better had been beyond belief since the navy yard laboring force had been employed without regard to politics;" and in the clerical force the work was done quicker and better. A man had been discharged after being off on an eight-days' spree. The officer said, "Yes, we can get rid of him now. If it were eight years ago he would be back within three days." We quote from Assistant Secretary Roosevelt's memorandum: "For instance, Commodore Erben, the 'man behind the gun' commodore, the author of that speech, the Commandant of the New York Navy Yard, reported in writing that 'the general effect of the system has been to reduce the cost of all work done in the yard during the year about 25 per cent.' It has been a saving of money to the Government of about 25 per cent.

"I have these statements made to me continually. I have usually not kept a record of them. On looking over the letters, I find such a letter as this, for instance, of December 28 last, a month ago, from the pay inspector and

general storekeeper of the Washington yard, Mr. Putnam, recommending certain promotions and saying:

"In the event of the promotions being made as requested above, the vacancy created for a special laborer at \$2 per diem need not be filled, as under the system of promotions for merit I am getting a more efficient service."

"That is just one little instance. We have reduced by one the small force in his office, because when he is allowed to promote men for merit he gets so much more efficient service."

"The Constructor at the navy yard, being asked about his force some little time ago, said he had ten clerks appointed for political reasons, by whose aid he could not quite get his work done, and that if they should ever be turned out and he could have five chosen under the rigid competitive examination system, he would guarantee to get the work done. The ten were turned out and the five appointed, and the work is well done."

"Just recently I had another such case as this, where two vacancies occurred, as under the system of having promotions for merit, they were getting so much better material that there was no need of employing as many men as formerly. We have been introducing the system of promotions for merit, in co-operation with or subordination to the Civil Service Commission, during the last year. It was started toward the end of Secretary Herbert's administration. Secretary Long has promulgated and formulated the rules."

The Assistant Secretary further stated that practically Secretary Tracy classified the laboring force in 1890. Up to that time there had been almost a complete sweep of laborers after each election. The men who were in prominent positions in the labor force almost never survived in their situations a change in the politics of the administration. When Whitney came in they were all turned out, and when Tracy came in they were all turned out. On one occasion in the navy-yard, a Senator and three members of the House, with Roosevelt, spent the better part of two working days "on the earthshaking question, not of armor, not of ships, not of ordnance, but whether or no the commandant had the right to promote a man from a \$1,200 to a \$1,400 position without consulting the Senators and representatives from that State."

The witness related of the clerks and messengers, who had not been classified under Tracy: "When Secretary Herbert came in, he kept all the labor force, but made an absolutely clean sweep of 'the clerks and messengers' who went out with a jump, and some pretty eerie gentlemen got their places; and now they had been classified. There was no change under the McKinley administration."

The Chairman—"They are still in service."

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt—"They are still in the service—well, not the

eerie gentlemen. They are being weeded out through the semi-annual reports, and their places are being taken by the promotion of men who more often than not were appointed under Secretary Herbert, but appointed through the regular Civil Service examinations. We are weeding out the bad men, but the decent men are kept in.

"Then, there is one point I should like to make. We found the old system in vogue as regards two very small branches of employment. One was the minors under instruction, or apprentices, in the different yards. There were only a few dozen appointed annually. There was not any way that we could appoint them. People say, 'If you did not have the Civil Service examinations the head of the Department could appoint the men to please himself.' I should just like to see that experiment made once to observe the effect of it upon the Senate and the House."

Senator Lodge inquired of Assistant Secretary Roosevelt whether he was still annoyed by Senators and Representatives asking him to make promotions, and the answer was, "It is continually becoming less." When asked when an occurrence took place, Roosevelt said, "I am going to ask you not to request me to give the names." The chairman was satisfied by asking whether an incident given was a recent occurrence. Roosevelt's reply was: "It was a few months ago. They were all first-rate fellows, and I am very fond of them." As to certain persons turned out, Mr. Roosevelt had received a letter asking, "Why have you turned out a worthy man merely because he is a Democrat?" The answer was that the man was not turned out as a Democrat, "but because of the trivial fact that he got drunk." The next letter would probably be to this effect: "An excellent man and a Republican has just been turned out. His leading man has reported against him. But I am creditably informed that that leading man voted for Bryan last year." The case was looked up, and it was ascertained "the worthy Republican slept seven hours inside of a boiler which he was supposed to be mending." And the Assistant Secretary said, as the most glittering of his illustrations "we happened by good luck to strike Jew, Catholic, and Protestants in turning out, and in every instance, people would write to me saying that the men were turned out because they were Jews, or Catholics, or Protestants, as the case might be." As a great principle the Secretary stated, "I have been impressed that it is the men who are least fit who are apt to have the greatest amount of influence brought on their behalf."

Asked whether in his opinion more weight should be given to the questions that tested practical knowledge, the Assistant Secretary gave the answers to some of the questions, and referred to a scholastic test of certain general questions of United States History, and stated: "We felt that a policeman is an important executive officer, who, to a large percentage of the foreign born population of New York, stands in the place of the constitution

and town meeting and governor, and everything else. One question I recollect we asked the candidate for the position was: 'Give a brief statement of the life of Abraham Lincoln.' Out of some hundreds of applicants we had ten who said he was the President of the Southern Confederacy. We had one man who said he was assassinated by Thomas Jefferson; two who said he was assassinated by Jefferson Davis; another who said he was assassinated by Garfield; three who said he was assassinated by Guiteau; and one man, who evidently did not feel friendly to the Salvation Army, said he was assassinated by Ballington Booth.

"We asked who was the chief officer of the United States. One of the candidates responded 'Parkhurst;' another, probably of different political faith, said 'Croker;' two with deft flattery, named me.

"One of the questions was to name certain of the States that were in the Confederacy in 1861. Nearly half of the applicants names States like Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada. It was at the time of the silver campaign, and they had a vague impression that there was something wrong out there, but they did not know what.

"We also asked them—I dislike to state this answer before Senator Lodge, but I must—to name five of the New England States. There were three answers to that question which I specially liked. One man named New York, Albany, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Delaware. The next two answers I am going to give are so extraordinary that I kept the record; I kept the questions and answers. The five New England States, one man said, were England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cork. The gentleman was of foreign origin, I may explain. Another man, presumably of different religious faith, named Belfast instead of Cork."

Asked whether these gentlemen whose answers the Assistant Secretary gave had been appointed, the answer was "Yes," and specified "One man was appointed who thought Abraham Lincoln was President of the Southern Confederacy, and another man who said he was a great General, and fought the battle of Bunker Hill." The Assistant Secretary explained that both of these men were of foreign birth, and except as to Abraham Lincoln, passed excellent examinations, and a failure of one question did not bar a man out.

"I have received a little clipping from a San Antonio paper that goes to my heart on the question of practical examinations. Always, when you start to make a rather revolutionary change, you meet opposition from very excellent people who are of a conservative habit of thought. Two or three years ago I enlisted Mr. Proctor, whose views and mine were always identical on all these matters, and we invariably worked together in every respect, in a scheme for the examination of customs inspectors on the Texas border. I

know all about the cow country. Therefore I am fit to deal with it. I knew I could get up a bully set of competitive tests for customs inspectors on the border, because it happens to lend itself to a good system of competitive tests. You want to have a man who is a first-rate horseman, who knows about brands, who is a good shot, and is able to write a clear report. First of all, you have to get recommendations of character, of course. Then I wanted to have enough of a written examination to test the candidate's handwriting, his arithmetic, and his capacity to write a good letter, and then to test his revolver shooting, exactly as they do on any range. On a range, as you know, Senators, the results of the competition are put down numerically. Such and such a man gets 87 out of a possible hundred, another 67, another 93, the bull's-eye being marked 5, the next line 4, the next line 3, the next 2, and the outer line 1. That lent itself very readily to competitive tests.

"Then for the brand reading you have to trust a little bit to good fortune, but in order to show knowledge of horsemanship and cattle, it was only necessary to have what is a favorite test of cow punchers on the round-up. Let each man take any horse he wishes—and if a man has not a good horse he will get one,—turn loose a steer for each man, and test him according to the rapidity with which he can overtake, rope, throw, and tie down the steer. It was not deemed practicable at that moment to put that competitive test in, especially as I could not get down there to oversee it myself. But it was adopted to a certain extent, and I this morning received in the mail a slip from a San Antonio paper as follows:

"'For mounted inspector—He who gets the job must read brands, ride bronchos, and shoot with both hands.

"'The Civil Service Commission announces that, on March 15, an examination will be held in Brownsville, Texas, for the position of mounted inspector in the customs district of Brazos de Santiago, with headquarters at Brownsville. The examination will be of a light educational character, but applicants will be required to file special vouchers showing their knowledge of the Mexican language and of the country embraced in the district, as well as their ability to read brands and their experience in horsemanship and marksmanship.'"

It was suggested that in December, 1896, fifteen steel examiners in the Navy Department were appointed without examination, and the Assistant Secretary was asked whether he knew anything about that. He said there was a very rigid Civil Service examination held for those fifteen steel inspectors under the best men there were in the Department,—this was just after the extension of the classified service,—just as was done in the railway mail service when the small free delivery postoffices were classified. The Assistant Secretary observed that it was not possible when 30,000 men were put in for the

Commission of Civil Service to undertake their examination. The local people would have to be trusted to conduct examinations until the examination machinery was well under way.

Up to that time the temporary examinations would be a makeshift. The extension referred to in Washington the year before, was not too large, and if the President did consult him, as was very unlikely, he would advise just then that the Deputy Internal Revenue Collectors be not classified. That might ultimately be done, but it was a scattered service. When he recommended the classification originally, he thought there would be but one classification made at a time, and that the Commission could turn all its energies to dealing with 2,000 places, not thinking that the whole would be classified as a part of a tremendous and sweeping transaction; but in a scattered service, it would take a good long time to develop thoroughly satisfactory machinery for such an extension. He did not think the Commission, as to the fifteen steel inspectors, "could have handled the matter at the time, unless it had been composed exclusively of Angel Gabriels with a double-jointed capacity for doing ten times as much as an ordinary mortal. Mr. Proctor, Commissioner, asked the Assistant Secretary whether he did not believe, that if a promotion examination such as he had instituted in the Navy Department and navy yards, were carried forward by all the Departments, it would automatically do away with any dread of life tenure. The answer of the Assistant Secretary was, "It would automatically do away with much of the dread of life tenure." Any form like that does not accomplish everything. It accomplished a great deal. The examination for promotion to which Mr. Proctor referred, was not a written examination, but one where the man's record stood as a competitive test.

In closing his testimony, Assistant Secretary Roosevelt said of Mr. John R. Proctor, "He is the only member of the Commission with whom I served. He and I radically differ on politics; but there were no points of policy or practice in which we did not work hand in hand absolutely, and I happened to see Mr. Proctor put to pretty severe tests in standing up for Republicans who were menaced; take it in the Treasury, under Mr. Carlisle; for colored Republican letter-carriers menaced in Southern offices by Southern white Democratic postmasters, who belong to his own party, and he rang more than true on every occasion."

In the course of the testimony given by Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, there was some difference of opinion in relation to the examination of fifteen steel inspectors, and their appointment, and the Secretary desired to make inquiry before stating the case fully, and mentioned that he would write a letter on the subject which is as follows:

"Navy Department, Office Assistant Secretary,

"Washington, Feb. 3, 1898.

"My Dear Sir: In accordance with your request, I have to inform you as follows about the steel inspectors:

"The examination was held over a year ago; that is, in January, 1897. It appears that some trouble occurred in connection with the inspection of the steel plates submitted by the armor companies to the Government, and the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Herbert, came to the conclusion, that in the interests of the Government, it was desirable to have a special corps of civilian experts appointed only with reference to their peculiar capacity for the very technical work needed. It was necessary to take immediate action. In such a case the examination invariably has to be conducted by experts outside of the Civil Service Commission's regular force. In this instance the Commission, of course, had no register of eligibles and no means of getting any. It was a few months after the great extension of the classified service, which put in 30,000 places extra; and it was a simple physical impossibility for the Commission, already swamped with work, to take charge of the highly technical examinations of this nature, at least until its ordinary and regular work was in shape. A special examination for a very small class of applicants, as in this case, of course entails as much work as (and if the examination is highly technical very much more work than) is the case with a simple examination for a very large class of candidates of a kind which the Commission has to itself undertake. It was impossible to wait, and Secretary Herbert and the Commission took the only proper course, a course which, in my opinion, can be objected to only on the narrowest red-tape grounds.

"The Secretary, as appears by his letter of January 29, 1897, got permission from the Commission, through Chief Clerk Peters, to have a special examination held by an officer of the Navy who was an expert in the manufacture of steel, Assistant Naval Constructor R. B. Dashiell. The holding of the examination was thoroughly advertised. About 150 applications were sent in. According to the report of Mr. Dashiell, the examination was very thorough, covering the entire ground of the inspection of steel and iron, developing every candidate's abilities to conduct the physical and chemical inspections required, the constructor also giving weight to the testimonials and general fitness of the candidates. Fifteen men were appointed in consequence of this examination, who have given entire satisfaction.

"Men appointed to this position have to perform such peculiar duties that I question whether an ordinary Civil Service examination would be adequate to test them. Certainly, if they were appointed as the result of written competitive examination, it could only be in accordance with one conducted on the same lines as that conducted by Mr. Dashiell. In this particular case, for

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the Civil Service Commission and the Navy Department to have followed any other course than the one they did would not only have been absurd, but would have been highly detrimental to the public interest.

"I am, with great respect, yours truly,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

"Assistant Secretary."

"Hon. J. C. Pritchard, United States Senate,"

CHAPTER VI.

WHEN POLICE COMMISSIONER.

His Fight for the Honor of New York City—Brief Statement of the Facts—Unwise Legislation—Bi-Partisan Police Failure—The Blackmail Business—Morning Calls on the Police—Dry Rot in Politics—A Brave Man's Great Good Work.

POLICE COMMISSIONERS Theodore Roosevelt, Frederick D. Grant, and Andrew D. Parker were appointed May 6, 1895. Commissioner Avery D. Andrews was appointed February 13, 1895. Theodore Roosevelt was elected President, and Mr. Andrews Treasurer. Grant was on the Committee on Rules and Discipline. February 27, 1897, President Roosevelt made a report, in which the story of the Board up to the close of the year 1896 was made, to the Hon. W. L. Strong, Mayor of the City of New York.

This report introduces a summary of important changes, and is substantially the history, by President Roosevelt, of his Police Commissioner's experience. The first sentence that slashes open the situation is this: "The new Board found the Department in a demoralized condition, comparable with nothing known in the history of the Department." The cause of the agitation of the demoralization is given in the next paragraph:

"An extraordinary Grand Jury had recently been investigating the records of many officers, and many indictments had been found; 268 vacancies existed in the Department, and twenty-six officers, including one inspector and five captains, were under suspension on account of indictments for crime. Important legislative changes were pending, and a feeling of uncertainty and distrust pervaded the Department. This was even more strongly noticeable in the attitude of the public towards the Department."

The consequence was that the last eight months of 1895 were essentially a period of transition. The new Board, its President pleasantly says, accepted "new methods of administration," one of which was to enforce "strict discipline and absolute impartiality," and this revolutionary proceeding "speedily caused the retirement of many officers of various grades." The new police law was of the bi-partisan sort, meant to insure against serious changes of any kind, and caused a delay of months. In the time from May 15th to July 15th, the vacancies increased to 355, including one chief, three inspectors, eleven cap-

tains and eleven sergeants. The inwardness of the police force had, it is plain, been moved mightily. When the year 1895 closed, 206 patrolmen had been appointed, and fifty-eight additional on probation. The Legislature increased the force by 800. There had been a failure for several years to increase the force to correspond with the growth of the city. The appointments, for the year 1896, made a total of 1,336. This was necessary, but not the change of most importance. It was found, in the language of the President, "imperatively necessary, in order to re-establish discipline in the Department, to substitute dismissals for light penalties which had previously been given for grave breaches of discipline, such as drunkenness and insubordination; and the imposition of heavier penalties for all grades of offenses. In former times it was common to impose a fine of one-half day or one day for a negligent or willful failure to patrol, and fines of two or three days were common for disobedience of orders, or off post in liquor stores." There were 169 dismissals in twenty months. In four years before this the dismissals were seventy-six.

Under Roosevelt the commendation of meritorious officers was a feature,—awarding honorable mention, engrossed certificates, medals of honor, and extra bars to medals previously awarded. The clog upon thorough work was the bi-partisan feature, which scattered authority, and with it, responsibility. President Roosevelt refers to the legislation as "unwise," making this specification of un wisdom: "Not only have these two Legislatures refused to pass any bill which would give us the power to rid the Department of bad officers, and to administer it with proper vigor and efficiency, but they have actually made the law very much worse than it formerly was, weakening our powers to do good work, and rendering it more difficult to check evil and to centre responsibility. If no other change is possible, then at least it would be well to repeal the present law and re-enact the old law, which was in force when the present Board took office, in May, 1895. The old law was far preferable to the present law."

The "enormous change for the better" was "due entirely to the Board," which Roosevelt declared "administered all the laws with an eye single to the interests of the service," and, he added, "the welfare of the city;" and "the particular law under which the Department itself is administered is worse than was the law which it supplanted. When the present Board was appointed, the Force was still administered under the old law, but immediately afterward the so-called bi-partisan bill, as passed by the Legislature of 1895, became a law. The Legislature of 1895 at the same time refused to pass a reorganization bill, which would have given the Police Board the power to remove the corrupt and incapable officers who were on the force; and the Legislature of 1896 also refused to pass a similar bill. Indeed, the Legislature of 1895

actually passed a bill taking away the right of trial from the Commissioners, which would have rendered the powers of the Board for good almost null; but the members of the Board appeared before you [Mayor Strong] in a body to protest against the bill, and by your veto you killed it. Finally, the Legislature of 1896 refused to pass a bill asked for by the majority of the Board, and approved by you, to remedy the worst evils which had been created by the so-called bi-partisan act."

This report, it should be remembered, was addressed to Mayor Strong. President Roosevelt pointed out "the two worst features of the bi-partisan act" stating that, "in the first place, it divides responsibility; indeed, to a large extent centring the power in one place and the responsibility in another; and, in the second place, it renders immeasurably greater the already sufficiently difficult task of getting efficient action out of a four-headed Commission, for a four-headed Commission is necessarily a clumsy executive instrument."

The President says the Chief alone should have powers of details, with ultimate responsibility of the Board. A single-headed Commission is recommended, and as the next best thing, a three-headed Commission. It is a curious fact that the best work done was under a misunderstanding of the law. Of this Roosevelt remarks: "The full disadvantages of the new law were not very manifest at first; because, for the first seven or eight months of its existence, the new Board had under it in the higher positions only acting officers, and it therefore continued to exercise virtually the powers the Board had formerly possessed. It was not until March, 1896, that it found that the power to promote to the rank of Roundsman, and to make temporary promotions of officers to act in a higher grade, were in the eye of the law, not promotion, but assignments or details. During these ten months of unchecked control, the Board accomplished an almost incredible amount of work for the reorganization of the Department."

It was almost a truism, the President of the Commission, now the President of the United States, remarked, when his Board grappled with the police question in a demoralized city, that the excise law "could not be enforced in New York City." The Board determined to make a trial of enforcement, and "The result was that, for the first time in its history, the Excise law was thoroughly and honestly administered in New York. The means employed by the Board were perfectly simple, and consisted merely in insisting that the wealthy liquor sellers and those who possessed great political influence should be treated precisely as their weaker brethren were treated. When we took office, there were hundreds of saloons that were closed on Sunday, while thousands more were open, only those being closed which did not pay blackmail, or whose owners, for some reason or other, were under the protection of the higher Police officers or of influential politicians who had power with

these officials. We enforced the law with rigid equity upon all alike. In consequence, we made all alike close. Yet, though we shut the saloons on Sunday, we actually made fewer arrests than had been made before. In the year previous to our term of office, over 10,000 persons were arrested for violation of the Sunday law. During the first twelve months of our administration but 5,700 were arrested. Yet, while making 4,300 fewer arrests, we enforced obedience to a law which never before had been obeyed, because for the first time we arrested everybody, without regard to their wealth or political backing, and allowed no arrests to be made for purposes of blackmail or political intimidation. The figures for the arrests show, by the way, that while the number of excise arrests fell off, the number of arrests for more important crimes increased; a proof that the Police, while warring upon vice, have also warred more efficiently than ever before against violent criminality. We pursued the same tactics with gambling houses and disorderly houses, and with much the same success, in spite of the scant help we received from a few of the executive and judicial officers of the Government, and of the obstacles thrown in our way by the Comptroller."

The "Tramp Lodging House" was abolished, because of such a nature that "only dire necessity could persuade a decent man or woman to take refuge in them; but they were entirely congenial to the worst class of tramp or of robust, semi-criminal outcast; and as winter came on, representatives of those types and of those kin to them flocked to the city, where they were thus provided with free lodging." These tramp places were closed one by one, and "the Board announced that everything possible should be done to force the shiftless or vicious to go to places where they could be dealt with properly, while the honest workingman or woman who was in temporary need would be directed to charitable resorts that were always open to them. That the change was made was due chiefly to the establishment by the Board of Charities of a Municipal Lodging House, where all homeless wanderers were received, were forced to bathe, were given night-clothes before going to bed, and were made to work next morning."

As to the blackmailing and protecting vice system, Commissioner Roosevelt said: "When the present Board took office, the Force was honeycombed with corruption. Every species of purveyor of vice was allowed to ply his or her trade unmolested, partly in consideration of paying blackmail to the Police, partly in consideration of information as to the criminals who belonged to the unprotected classes. The result was twofold. The Police officers possessed ill-gotten funds, out of which they could afford to pay for assistance in catching criminals, and they warred against one-half of the criminal class, with, as allies, the other and more insidiously hurtful half. We broke up this whole business of blackmail and protection. The fence and

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THE LONG LOOK AHEAD

the bunco-steerer, the law-breaking liquor seller, the gambler, and the keeper of a disorderly house are no longer protected; and the Police no longer obtain from them either money or information to assist in their warfare against burglars, highway robbers, and murderers. Nevertheless, so great has been the improvement in the spirit of the Force that they have actually, although deprived of their former corrupt allies, done better work than ever before against those criminals who threatened life and property. Fewer crimes of violence, fewer murders and burglaries, relatively to the population of the city, have occurred than in the past; while the total number of arrests of criminals has increased, and the number of cases in which no arrest followed the commission of a crime has decreased. At one time certain of the more timid or less conscientious members of the well-to-do classes in the community, being misled by the interested clamor of certain of the newspapers, allies or tools of the beneficiaries of the system of corruption, actually wished the Board to go back to the old evil methods, and to tolerate blackmail and vice, if by so doing they could put a stop to crimes of violence. The Board refused to consider for one moment the readoption of any such policy; it insisted on entire honesty in the Force, and demanded at the same time a greater degree of efficiency than ever before. The result has amply justified its judgment."

More than this: "The Liquor Tax Law has lightened our labors considerably, because of the excellent provision requiring saloon-keepers to keep their bars exposed during prohibited hours. On the other hand, we have met with considerable difficulty owing to the establishment of 'fake hotels,' and the acceptance by the courts of the theory that a man who purchases a sandwich in a hotel is a guest; that he is entitled to consider that sandwich, whether eaten or not, as a meal, and is entitled to have all the liquor he wants with it."

The picturesque side of Mr. Roosevelt's experience as Police Commissioner has been given in a most entertaining way by Mr. Jacob A. Riis, one of the friends of Roosevelt who has been a helper all along the roads of reforms:

"Haroun-al-Roosevelt the newspapers have nicknamed the President of the New York City Police Board, in good-natured banter at his fashion of disciplining his men by going about at night to see for himself what they are doing. In point of fact, there is much in the methods of the Reform Board to suggest the beneficent rule of the mythical Caliph. Mayor Strong's method of solving the most difficult problem with which his administration had to deal points to his possessing the faculty that made King William Emperor of a united Germany—that of choosing his advisers well, which is the very genius of leadership. It would be difficult to get four men together better fitted to do the great work they have to do than Commissioners Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew D. Parker, Avery D. Andrews and Frederick D. Grant. In four short

weeks they have succeeded in impressing their purpose on a demoralized force to an extent which the timid citizens who saw the old order of things upset with misgivings must have thought incredible. Practically, their work is done already. What remains to be done is important, but not nearly so much so as the demonstration to the force, and to the citizens, that the thing was possible, that in the struggle between moral force and political 'pull,' the former might win,—must win, however uneven the apparent odds.

"This was the issue from the first, and to the demonstration of it the new Board promptly directed its efforts. It found a force, misnamed the Finest, stricken through and through with the dry-rot of politics. The blackmail, brutality, shirking, and all the rest were mere symptoms of the general disorder. The very first act of the Board—viz., to extend civil service rule to the appointments still left open in the department—was at once an answer and a challenge to the politicians who swarmed in Mulberry Street, confident of being able to 'make a line' on the new men and the new order of things. This effort they have not abandoned in the face of many discouragements. 'The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not.' It is the nature of Tammany politics that it should not appreciate the quality of moral force. They have nothing in common.

"'You will yield too. You are but human,' said the oldest and wariest of the politicians, as he left Mulberry Street, a beaten man. Mr. Roosevelt's answer was to send to the Board his proposition, which it promptly adopted, to close the last avenue of the politician to police patronage.

"'We want the civil service law applied to appointments here,' he said, in explanation, 'not because it is the ideal way, but because it is the only way you can knock the politicians out, and you have to do that to get anywhere.'

"The speech sufficiently described Mr. Roosevelt. It is in keeping with all that has ever been known of him as a public man. Force and courage are his conspicuous characteristics. To the suggestion that the retirement of the old heads of the force might invite ruffianism and disorder, he responded curtly, 'there shall be order;' and there is order. In the Board his restless energy is admirably supplemented by the cool head of Mr. Parker—who with the training of the lawyer combines a keen intelligence and a breadth of view which make the two men, in everything so different, approach their task by different paths, yet in the same spirit—and by the untiring zeal and labors of Major Andrews, the Treasurer, and Colonel Grant. Both of these latter officials possess the genius for and the patience with details, without which effectual reform of so great a body as the police force would be impossible. Already Colonel Grant's overhauling of the Department's supply accounts has disclosed

some of the numerous small leaks through which the city's revenues were wasted under a corrupt regime, and has succeeded in stopping them.

"That the Board has no cut-and-dried theories of police management, so far from being the hindrance to it which its early critics suggested, has proved instead its strongest point. It had no traditions to break from. 'We have no patent cure-all for the department,' said Mr. Roosevelt, speaking for his colleagues. 'Some things are plain. We want honesty, plain, common honesty, in the force, and politics out of it. For the rest, we are willing to fit our theories to the facts as we make them out.' Already, in pursuance of this plan, drunkards have been made to understand that the police force is no place for them; party managers, that the day of the ignorant, bullying election officer is past. Promotions are made on probation, not for 'influence.' Policemen have been made to resign membership in political clubs. Reward follows as swiftly upon the brave act as punishment on misconduct. The clubber knows that he runs the certain risk of prompt dismissal. And this is the work of one short month.

"Mr. Roosevelt's tour de force, as it has been wittily called, had its amusing side, but its purpose was not to amuse. With the practical common sense of the man, he chose for his night patrol through the streets the small hours in the morning, when the demand for a policeman, if it arises at all, is most urgent, and when the temptation to shirk is almost the greatest. As a matter of fact, the way in which posts were patrolled at that hour had long been a scandal. Mr. Roosevelt's trip demonstrated how empty was the boast of superior excellence on which the retired chiefs had been trading. The demoralization was complete. Two policemen in a dozen were attending to business. The rest were loafing, or were not found at all until the President's message summoned them to headquarters later in the morning to hear what he thought of them. New York streets have been better policed every hour since.

"One great stumbling block was left in the way of police reform by the failure of the reorganization bill. The Board cannot dismiss a subordinate, of whose inefficiency or dishonesty it may be convinced, without being able to obtain the legal proof. This power must yet be given it before it can complete its work. Meanwhile its demonstration that 'pull' has lost its power altogether in the department must rank with Colonel Waring's declared purpose to 'put a man, not a voter, behind every broom' as among the epoch-making policies, few in number, of American municipal administration."

There have been few imitations of the Roosevelt system of dealing with the "problems" that arise in Municipal Government, the one Department which we of Republican America are not proud to have compared with the monarchical municipalities of Europe. The absolutely fearless and impartial way of Roosevelt, the President and master spirit of the Police Commission,

gave him a power that had not entered into calculations, and that, with the enlargement of his sphere to include national affairs, promises a progressive good government, that will combine with common justice, public prosperity.

There was a day and an hour in Philadelphia during the Republican Convention of 1900, in which a call by conscientious and devoted friends was made upon Theodore Roosevelt to abstain from national politics; and there were two reasons assigned: First, that he was in the mind of the people at large to be some day—and the sooner the better after McKinley's second term—a candidate for President of the United States, and that he should not even consider the candidacy for the Vice-Presidency. Some of Governor Roosevelt's close and constant supporters—Dr. Albert Shaw, of the *Review of Reviews*, and Seth Low, President of Columbia College, were of them. They had marked with admiration the wonderful changes wrought by the Police Commission, by Roosevelt as President of the Board, under deplorably defective laws, by his personal force and genius for reformation in public affairs of a knotty, crooked and rough nature and wanted him, they insisted, until he was needed for the Presidency, "for home consumption."

It was necessary to make clear to Roosevelt that the line of duty before him was not to further serve the City or State of New York, or to be an Assistant Secretary or Lieutenant Colonel; that all that was behind him, and that the recognition of it was by the people that he should go up higher, as indeed he was Governor of the Empire State; and the next chapter of public life should be that which comprehended the security and advancement and expansion of the Nation. Thus far, it was pointed out, there had been a Providence whose shining face beamed over him through the clouds, and the light shone on his Civil Service Reform labors, his Police Commission experiences, his secondary but not subordinate position in the Navy Department, his war record, that had given him education in the only military school better than West Point.

In the Police Commission he had been at pains to acquire, without the futile pomp and circumstance of proclamation, the knowledge to act upon to break the Dynastic supremacy of crime protected for revenue, and cause the law to be so far respected as to arouse the people to assert themselves in law making, but it was found impracticable to unite the citizens whose interests and sentiments demanded the law abiding habit of the people, because there was a school of professors of superiority of the self-sufficient, who had abundant aspiration, but were wanting in the faculty of construction, and could not be persuaded to submit their ostentatious but insignificant individualities to the consultation and discipline needful to organization. The triumph of Tammany in Greater New York, was that of a regular political army, over a mass of undrilled militia, incoherent and yet delighted with the conceits of

fanciful importance, and a foolish understanding that the prerequisite of personal independence was insubordination.

A close friend of the President who has staunchly supported him in the trying times of reforming the New York Police, says he made the acquaintance of Theodore Roosevelt in the Police Commission days, having, as he says, "followed his trail in the Legislature, always exposing robbery, fighting boss rule, much to the amazement of the politicians who beheld this silk stocking youngster, barely out of college, rattling dry bones they had thought safely buried out of reach."

Of Roosevelt's time in the Police Department, Riis says, "A much larger percentage of policemen than many imagine look back to that time as the golden age of the Department, when every man had a show on his merits, and whose votes are quietly cast on election day for the things 'Teddy' stands for."

This was prophetic in 1900, and historic in 1901.

"We had been trying for forty years to achieve a system of dealing decently with our homeless poor. Twoscore years before the surgeons of the Police Department had pointed out that herding them in the cellars or over the prisons of police stations in festering heaps, and turning them out hungry at daybreak to beg their way from door to door, was indecent and inhuman. Since then grand juries, academies of medicine, committees of philanthropic citizens, had attacked the foul disgrace, but to no purpose. Pestilence ravaged the prison lodgings, but still they stayed. I know what that fight meant; for I was one of a committee that waged it year after year, and suffered defeat every time, until Theodore Roosevelt came and destroyed the nuisance in a night. I remember the caricatures of tramps shivering in the cold with which the yellow newspapers pursued him at the time, labeling him the 'poor man's foe.' And I remember being just a little uneasy lest they wound him, and perhaps make him think he had been hasty. But not he. It was only those who did not know him who charged him with being hasty. He thought a thing out quickly—yes, that is his way; but he thought it out, and having thought it out, suited action to his judgment. Of the consequences he didn't think at all. He made sure he was right, and then went ahead with perfect confidence that things would come out right.

"The poor man's foe! Why, the poor man never had a better friend than Theodore Roosevelt. We had gone through a season of excitement over our tenement-houses. The awful exhibits of the Gilder Committee had crowded remedial laws through the legislature—laws that permitted the destruction of tenement-house property on the showing that it was bad. Bad meant murderous. The death records showed that the worst rear tenements killed one in five of the babies born in them. The Tenement-House Committee called

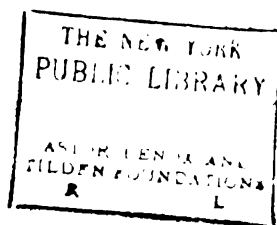
them 'infant slaughter-houses.' They stood condemned, but still they stood. A whole year was the law a dead-letter, until, as President of the Police Board, Roosevelt became also a member of the Health Board that was charged with the enforcement of the statute. Then they went, and quickly. A hundred of them were seized, and most of them destroyed.

"The death rate came down in a 'barracks' in Mott Street from 39.56 in the thousand to 16.28.

"I had watched police administration in Mulberry Street for nearly twenty years, and I had seen many sparring matches between working men and the Police Board. Generally, there was bad faith on one side; not infrequently on both. It was human that some of the labor men should misinterpret Mr. Roosevelt's motives when, as President of the Board, he sent word that he wanted to meet them and talk strike troubles over with them. They got it into their heads, I suppose, that he had come to crawl; but they were speedily undeceived. I can see his face now, as he checked the first one who hinted at trouble. I fancy that man can see it, too—in his dreams.

"'Gentlemen,' said Mr. Roosevelt, 'I have come to get your point of view, and see if we can't agree to help each other out. But we want to make it clear to ourselves at the start that the greatest damage any workingman can do to his cause is to counsel violence. Order must be maintained; and, make no mistake, I will maintain it.'"

The men cheered him. There was perfect confidence on both sides. Roosevelt said, "We understand each other, and will get along."





LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROOSEVELT (IN CENTRE) AND TWO
TROOPERS OF THE ROUGH RIDERS

*From a photograph taken in front of the old Spanish mission, "Concepcion,"
at San Antonio, Texas*

CHAPTER VII.

ROOSEVELT'S SWORN ROUGH RIDER HISTORY.

His Talks under Oath to the Spanish War Investigation Commission—Thrilling Personal Narrative of Trouble and Triumph—How He Got into the Fight at Santiago, and the Way It Was Won.

THE prevalent opinion of the American people, when war with Spain was declared, was that the great event would be the siege of Havana. The Spaniards had in Cuba four times as many troops as composed our regular army, and they were equipped with better firearms than were generally served to our troops. The fault was with the rash rush for war, in opposition to the peace policy of President McKinley, whose anxiety was to gain time to use our superior resources; and there were some weeks well won, and used especially in the equipment of our squadron of the Asiatic station. Here the iron hand of Roosevelt appeared. He was officially only Assistant Secretary of the Navy Department, but personally a force that disturbed the inertia, and prepared for the cable to Dewey to do something at once. There was a close question whether the order to destroy the Spanish fleet was not a few hours ahead of time, as we lose a day on the way to Manila, going west, when we cross the one hundred and eightieth parallel.

It was Roosevelt who energized the Navy Department, insisted so positively on coal, powder and shell, and target practice, that he carried his point. The red tape was rent that things might be done in Asian waters, and the order to fight far outstripped the daylight that chased the night around the world. The prevalent idea at Washington was that Roosevelt did deserve credit, though there was no fierce impetuosity in its expression by such regulars as need leisure to be proper in phrase and pose; and, of course, the "strenuous" Assistant had to stay, so they said; and this was urged until it was ascertained that the Assistant Secretary was going over across lots to the army; and that was his fixed purpose. He was not a seaman, but a horseman, and there was nothing more for him to do as a subordinate in the Navy Department. It was the purpose of Roosevelt to go to war on horseback, and he overruled all opposition, until there was not transportation for horses. His Western life had told him where to find the fighting men who knew how to shoot and ride, and

more than that, but the news from the Cape Verde islands caused many changes in the movements of the Americans. The question of naval superiority had to be a settled certainty for us before we could risk an army on transports large enough to cope with that of Spain. Two of our opening campaign calculations were broken by the adventure upon which Cervera was ordered, but there was no Roosevelt in Spain to see to it that there was target practice by our enemies, or abundance of coal and fixed ammunition. The lack in Civil Service reform in Spain had partially disarmed her Navy. Money had been appropriated, but did not get as far as the ships. Cervera knew he was sent on a desperate errand, and had not even the coal as he approached southern Cuba to risk a run to Cienfuegos, which is connected by rail with Havana. Hence, he sheltered his squadron in Santiago, and drew the decisive land battle of the war there. Our Cuban allies turned out to be less numerous, warlike and victorious than represented by the Bureau provided for the American Press at Key West. There were those who remained of the opinion, after Cervera was located, that the Santiago combat would be a minor matter, and the decisive conflict near Havana. Roosevelt was not deceived. He had the fighter's instinct that told him the first fight was to come off at Santiago, and that the first would be the last, at least the greatest. It was fortunate for the Americans that Cervera had to run into Santiago, and that the facilities for coaling there were so inadequate he could not get to Cienfuegos, where the Spanish army at Havana could be moved by railroad; and the American regular army, with the few volunteers ready, could not have beaten the great Spanish army intrenched there. Suppose twenty thousand Spanish troops had been waiting at Santiago, and well supplied. The regiments sufficient to defeat them on that line would have been constrained to wait for re-inforcements until yellow fever time. It is, in the light of these facts, of the highest interest to note the pushing qualities, the headlong run for a transport, the hasty, impetuous landing and dashing advance, that placed the Rough Riders dismounted at the front and enabled them to get into the fight.

The action was most dramatic, and the combats in the tropical jungle exceedingly exacting and dangerous. We are supplied with reports of the severity of the Spanish fire. The casualty lists tell of the deadly work done. We have three accounts from President Roosevelt—all of the deepest interest and corroborating and corroborated from all sides. Before these accounts came in order the dispatches to and from Washington and the battlefields by wire. We have the descriptions of the features of warfare, as seen in the lights and shadows, written with time and material for permanency. Next, the official reports of Col. Roosevelt and of Col. Wood, the superior officer of the famous Lieutenant Colonel, Brigadier General Young, commanding the Brigade; Major General Joseph Wheeler, commanding the Division. First of all

we have the sworn testimony, before the Commission of Investigation of the Spanish War, of President Roosevelt; and it is given with his extraordinary intelligence and fearlessness, making such an inside history as is rare in the accounts of military operations. The testimony was taken November 22nd, 1898, and is invaluable as "the true inwardness." Hereafter, when we make ready for war, we will need to study this story. It goes to the bottom facts and presents them as was done in the Police and Civil Service investigations, and later, in the affairs of the State.

That such a personal force as that of the Twenty-Fifth President should have been called for positively by the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia with a continuity that dismayed opposition, and an energy and resolution that could not be denied, and that all plans and purposes should be set aside, is a proof of our capacity to govern ourselves, of the highest order; and the key to the pertinacity of the pressure for Roosevelt was the conviction, with due respect to all others, that, if President McKinley were by some mysterious dispensation of misfortune called away, Roosevelt was the man, who should be his successor, and certain to command respect and confidence—that our system of government, at once simple and majestic, should move on without jeopardy.

Col. Roosevelt, examined by General Wilson, was asked his name and the position he held during the war with Spain. He was Lieutenant Colonel from May 6th until July 8th, when he was made Colonel; and from August until September, he was Second Brigade Commander of the Cavalry Division. He joined the cavalry regiment known as Rough Riders, at San Antonio. He "was busy learning his own duties. It was due Col. Wood's energy that the regiment was enabled to get to the field." This remark was a very handsome compliment to Wood, for the great mass of volunteers did not succeed in leaving their home camps of instruction.

Col. Roosevelt testified that before leaving San Antonio, tents and blankets were found for almost everybody, but some could not get shoes. His regiment was armed with Krag-Jorgensen carbines, and a forty-five calibre six-shooter. The men did not have sabers, but were to have machetes that didn't come in time; but it didn't make a particle of difference that they didn't come. The last of May the regiment left San Antonio, and were four days getting to Tampa. On reaching that place, there was no one to show the regiment where to camp, the railroad system was in a condition of congestion, and there were twenty-four hours of utter and absolute confusion. Some of the regiments were dumped miles out of Tampa; but the six troops Roosevelt commanded were brought into town, when he had to take matters into his own hands, get the horses watered and fed, and buy food for the troopers. Finally they got into camp, and after twenty-four hours, everything went smoothly. But the Colonel

thought somebody might have met his troopers to show where the camp was. Asked whether he was re-imbursed for the outlay in the purchase of supplies, the answer was, "Oh, Lord, no; that was a personal matter."

The water supply came to the camp in a thin iron pipe. It was good, but it got hot in the sun. The usual army ration was good, and as the men were plainsmen, they were used to cooking and cooked for themselves. After four days they moved down to Port Tampa, and the Colonel thought "there was a good deal of higglety pigglety business," but it might have been due to the congested condition of the road. They were told to take a track at twelve o'clock and a train, and there was nobody to tell where the train was; and at three o'clock they were moved to another track and at six o'clock got some coal cars, not intended to take the troopers, but the Colonel said, "We construed it that they were, and went down on them." He further testified, "We had been told if we didn't get aboard by daybreak, we'd get left; we didn't intend to get left, and we took those coal cars and slipped down."

The Colonel didn't know who was responsible for the confusion or delay; but he thought where there were so many regiments to embark on so many transports, it might have been settled the day before what regiment was to go on each transport, and try to have the first ten regiments and the first ten transports come together, so that when the transports were loaded, they could pull out; and then ten other regiments take more transports, and so on. The quay was swarming with ten thousand men, and transports were pulling in from mid-stream, but nobody could tell which transport to get on. General Shafter said to find the Quartermaster, Colonel Humphrey, but the Quartermaster wasn't in his place, and hadn't been for some time; so Colonel Wood and Colonel Roosevelt hunted him up, by going for him in opposite directions, and he told them to go on the Yucatan, which was coming in at the dock. Colonel Wood jumped in a boat and went out to the transport, and Roosevelt found that the Yucatan was allotted to the Second Infantry and the Seventy-First New York. He pleasantly remarked: "I ran down my men and left the guard, and took the rest and rushed them down to the dock, and got on the Yucatan, holding the gang-plank against the Second Infantry and the Seventy-First New York, and those soldiers had to spend two nights on a train." The Colonel at this point gave the note of triumph. "But we had the Yucatan!" As to the explanation of all this confusion, the Colonel modestly testified: "I was only a Lieutenant-Colonel and can give the facts, but do not know the explanation."

His regiment had had ten or twelve days' rations, good except in one particular, and that made it all bad. Instead of having canned corned beef, which is excellent, they had canned fresh beef, which was exceedingly bad. The Colonel didn't think more than a tenth of it was eaten. When the men got very

hungry, and ate it, it nauseated them at the worst; and the best of it was tasteless and insipid, and no salt was issued with the travel rations. If they had had salt and onions, and means for cooking, an eatable stew would have been possible. Arrangements were made by which the men were allowed to cook coffee. There were no arrangements for ice. No horses were taken. The field officers took their horses on another transport. The sleeping accommodations of the men were not good; those who slept on deck were the best off. There were sufficient medical supplies and three surgeons; but they waited off Port Tampa for five days. It took seven days to reach Santiago, and it was two days before they disembarked. There was a great lack of material for disembarking. When the Colonel was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he had a naval aide, Lieutenant Sharp, who was there, off the coast of Cuba with a converted yacht. He came along and loaned a Cuban pilot, who took the Yucatan a mile and a half nearer the shore than any other transport. They had a dynamite gun and two Colt's automatic guns aboard, and got them ashore, but could not land the baggage or food, because there were not boats enough. The men had three days' equipment of rations. Roosevelt's baggage consisted of a light mackintosh, and the next day he got a tooth brush. Next morning the officers' baggage was taken ashore. The Colonel adds: "One of my horses was drowned, but I got on the other. Colonel Wood got both of his, and Major Brody got neither of his." General Young commanded the brigade.

In the afternoon there was a hard march for the men; but the Colonel was on his horse, and it was perfectly easy, he says, for him. The men were clothed in the regular winter army clothes, which made it hot in the jungle, but all that had gone wrong was forgotten, or at least neglected, for "about nine o'clock in the evening we reached Siboney, at which time we were well to the front; no other regiment was ahead of us." And the fighting boys were in high spirits, and needed to be, for as they got the fires kindled and supper cooked, "there came down a very heavy rain storm, and then we went to bed." The Colonel doesn't say what sort of bed it was. At midnight Colonel Wood came, and they were to march at daybreak the next morning, along a hill trail to the left, and other troops were to go up the valley trail to the right, and where the trails come together they expected to strike the Spaniards, and so they did.

The march next morning was a hard one, and going up the hill made it so hard, the Colonel didn't appreciate the object of so much speed. Over a hundred men fell out exhausted; others dropped their blankets and packs; but the Colonel rejoiced afterward, for he saw, if they hadn't marched that way, they wouldn't have been able to strike the Spaniards just when they did. They were looking for a fight, and it was a triumph to get there and get into the real war business. They were marching in single file—the jungle was too thick

for flankers to be put out, and Sergeant Fish, under Captain Capron was of the advance guard. After about two hours, there was a halt, word sent down that the Spanish outposts had been discovered, and Colonel Wood gave the order to cease talking, and see that the magazines were all loaded. Colonel Wood gave Roosevelt instructions to deploy with two troops to the right. One troop was deployed to the left and immediately afterward the firing began between that and the point where Sergeant Fish was. Roosevelt deployed to the right and Major Brody to the left, under a "pretty brisk fire."

The Colonel says: "It was a brisk skirmish, and it being my first experience, and with smokeless powder in use, it took me a little time to make out exactly what was up, and I couldn't see the Spaniards for a long time. They were using smokeless powder; but, fortunately, I knew one rule, that 'if you are in doubt go ahead and be sure you go toward the guns!' We finally discovered the Spaniards through Mr. Richard Harding Davis, who was with me on the line. He pointed across the ravine to an elevation, where he thought were some Spaniards, as he could see their hats; and I got my glasses on them and saw they were Spanish hats, and got my men volley firing on them and they were driven out and ran back where there were other Spaniards, and pretty soon we had them all going back." Some troops were seen on the right flank across the ravine, and proved to be our own regulars. A sergeant named Lee climbed a tree, and waved a guidon, so that the regulars should not fire on the volunteers. There was a report that they had fired a volley at Roosevelt's regiment, but it was not known. The right wing being established, Roosevelt moved to the left to the centre of the regiment, where Colonel Wood was. Major Brody was shot at this time and had to go to the rear, and Roosevelt was sent by Colonel Wood to the left wing, and was there in the thick jungle with three troops with him, and lost touch of the right wing until he heard them cheer.

The regiment was firing at the Spaniards, where there was a sugar house and plantation. When the men were heard cheering on the right, Roosevelt testified: "I knew they must be charging; so, then I charged too, and we drove the Spaniards out of that plantation and sugar house and came to a halt, and didn't know exactly what had become of the rest of the regiment." A false report was circulated that Colonel Wood was killed, and Roosevelt started out to find the missing men of the regiment. He had arranged his own wing behind an overgrown and sunken road, and to his delight met Colonel Wood, asked him where the Spaniards were, and he said they had run away. Immediately afterward, General Chaffee came along, and Roosevelt's words of this are: "I think, before that, three troops of the Ninth Cavalry came along just ahead of General Chaffee, and I then found the thing was all over." A Spanish mule loaded with beans was captured; and as the men were about out of pro-

visions, those Spanish beans came in very handy. The regiment had improvised a field hospital during the fight, and the men were provided with first-aid material, which was entirely satisfactory. Dr. James Robbins Church not only took care of the wounded, but ran up on the firing line to rescue them. He was an old Princeton foot-ball player and repeatedly took men bigger than himself on his back all the way to the hospital.

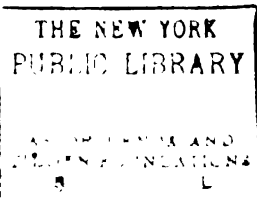
The regiment moved next and had no transportation at all. The mess kits of the men were lost. It was said water ought to be boiled, but there was nothing to boil it in. They didn't get camp utensils because there was no transportation. Colonel Wood obtained about sixteen mules; but in forty-eight hours they were taken away, and the Colonel didn't know who took them. The troops had the regular ration of salt pork, hard-tack and coffee, but nothing else. They wanted beans and tomatoes, and the Colonel took forty of the men, marched back to Siboney, taking the officers' horses and some Cuban horses, and wanted to purchase beans to take them to the men, but there were no beans for sale, nobody to issue them. They wouldn't sell beans unless the Colonel would say they were only for the officers. He didn't think that right, but, however, he says: "I bought all that an elastic stretch of my conscience would allow me to say could be used for the officers, and then I got a boat and went out to the transport, bought five hundred pounds of beans, and all the tomatoes we wanted, loaded them on the horses and the men, and marched back and it was a great thing for the men." The food was not suited to the climate, the hats were excellent, flannel shirts good, but exactly what would be used in Montana in the fall. The underclothes were Canton flannel and not good. The drawers got stiff and chafed the men. The trousers tore when they got drenched, and the men were in rags afterwards. The leggings were good; but it was a mistake in a muddy country to have leggings that strapped under the foot. The trousers were brown and khaki, but were not the real thing. Colonel Roosevelt testified that he wanted to put the men in good shape when they went on to Santiago, and one could hardly realize how well General Young handled the brigade and how he got work out of it. He was taken sick and went back. Colonel Wood succeeded him. Roosevelt succeeded Wood, and says: "I was very much pleased at that. I wouldn't have wanted it until I had had a little experience, but having been through that skirmish, I felt I could handle it."

On the 30th of June word was received to go forward to Santiago. The next morning was the battle before Santiago. The artillery went up and opened fire upon the trench just in front of the regiment. The Spaniards replied with shrapnel that killed and wounded four in the regiment, and quite a number of Cubans.

Colonel Roosevelt received orders to lead the brigade. We quote his T. R.—7

official report: "My regiment went first, the Second Brigade following the First Brigade along the road to join on General Lawton's left. That was the order we received. General Lawton was attacking El Caney. We marched out behind the First Brigade until we came to the San Juan River, which we forded, and then turned to the right. I got my regiment across just as the captive balloon was coming along down to the ford. There was a good deal of firing going on, and I knew when that balloon got down there would be hot work at the ford, so I hurried my men along as quickly as I could, and my regiment marched at the head of the Second Brigade to the right alongside San Juan River, with the First Cavalry Brigade to our left, between us and the blockhouses and intrenchments on the hills, and the firing got heavier and heavier, and we finally received word to halt and await orders.

"There was a kind of sunken lane going up from the river where we halted, and I made the men all lie down and get under cover as much as they could, and we lay there for, I should judge, certainly an hour. Finally we got the welcome order to advance. I received instructions to move forward and support the regular cavalry in the assault on the hills in front, and we moved forward, and then we took Kettle Hill, as we called it. I never heard the term San Juan Hill until two or three days later. After we went up Kettle Hill, Colonel Hamilton and Colonel Carroll were both shot, and that left me in command on the hill until General Sumner got there. I got my men together and got them volley firing across at the San Juan blockhouse on the hill which the infantry of Kent and Hawkins were attacking. We kept up firing for some time, and I recollect we heard Parker's Gatlings begin shooting on the left and our men cheered them, and we kept up our fire until the infantry got so near the top of the hill that I was afraid of hitting them, and in another minute we saw the infantry swarm over the intrenchments and the Spaniards run out; and then we charged from Kettle Hill across at the next line of hills which was in the rear where there were Spanish trenches and another blockhouse. General Sumner was on Kettle Hill before this; he had been riding along the lines of the cavalry seeing that they went forward. He had command of the cavalry division at that time. Then we took the next line of intrenchments. The Spaniards were still firing at us, and we formed and went to the left, and got on the crest of the chain of hills overlooking Santiago. By that time I was the highest officer in command on the extreme front, and I had six regiments under me. Major Wessels had been wounded, and Captains Morton and Boughton came up and reported to me, and Captains Stevens and McNamee of the Ninth reported to me. I received orders, then, from Captain Howze, of General Sumner's staff, not to advance but to hold that hill at all hazards. Captain Howze was always at the front when he could be. We held the hill until nightfall, when we received orders to intrench.





ON AN INSPECTION TOUR

"We had captured in the blockhouse the Spanish officers' mess, and an extremely good officers' mess it was, better than anything we had had; a big kettle of beef, a kettle of rice, and peas, and a big demijohn of rum, and a lot of rice flour loaves, and so I fed those out to my men; and we also got a lot of Spanish intrenching tools, and we threw up some very aboriginal intrenchments. So that night we had a mild feast on the Spaniards' food"

Q. "Was that the 1st or 2nd?"

A. "That is the night of the 1st. We intrenched there. As I have seen talk about a retreat being considered from that hill, it is only justice to say that the officers on the extreme front of that line, at least on my part of the line, never dreamed of the Spaniards driving us; they were all perfectly horrified at the idea of retreating. Captains Morton and Boughton came over to me in the afternoon to say that someone had spoken of retreating, and to beg me to protest. I had not heard of it, and did not believe it was true. I knew we could hold that line against anything that could come up in the front."

There were frequent reports that the Spaniards, on the nights of the 1st and 2nd were "attacking" the Americans. They did, in a kind of way, but it was not an attack pushed home. The skirmishes became active, and the trenches redoubled fire. There was no dream of retreating. The next day and night, the regiment was under fire all day, and about nine o'clock at night there was a tremendous amount of volley firing, and some Spanish skirmishers came out; but though they used smokeless powder, so that in the daytime no smoke was seen, yet at night there were little spurts of flame, and a clearer idea of their whereabouts was obtained during the night than in the day.

At this point Colonel Roosevelt spoke of "the enormous superiority of the smokeless powder over the black powder," adding that it could hardly be realized by those not on the ground, and it was felt that the Spanish artillery was better than our artillery on account of the powder. Colonel Roosevelt says:

"I saw, for instance, the guns on our left open fire, and in a half-minute after the first shot there would be this thick cloud of smoke hanging, and apparently every Spanish gun and every Spanish rifle within a radius of a mile of us would be all turned on that one point, and the gun would be driven out; so that our men—I mean the dismounted cavalry—would say, 'there go the artillery; they will be driven out.' And they were. They were placed back in the rear on the following day, but they were driven off the firing line where the infantry were. On the other hand, the Gatlings, which were managed by Captain Parker, were fought on the extreme front of the skirmish line; he fought his Gatlings right up on the extreme front, just as far as anybody could go. He did magnificently. He was on the right of our regiment. We had our two Colts, and he came and helped us put our two Colts in position. We didn't

think we had put our works out quite far enough, and we zigzagged an approach and made a kind of bastion some 200 yards out on the hill, so that we could fire right into the Spanish works. He helped us dig the approach and helped us get our Colt automatic guns fixed just right. He not only fought his own guns, but he rendered us every assistance."

Q. "Did he have smokeless powder?"

A. "If he had not had, we would not have allowed him in the trenches unless he could have stayed there in spite of us. I would say that some of the Seventy-First New York came up in the trenches right by some of the cavalry of the First Brigade, and the cavalymen ordered them out, saying that they would not have them in their trenches; they would rather fight without support than with the black powder, insuring their being the one point at which the enemy were firing."

The command was fully supplied with ammunition all this time, but the rations were insufficient. Something was taken from the Spaniards, but there was not a sufficiency of good food until the 24th of July. There was about enough of bacon and hard-tack, and half rations of coffee and sugar. The men began to sicken. Digging trenches and sleeping on the ground caused it. There was not at any time more than one day's rations at the front for the entire army, and if there had been a three days' rain, it would have been necessary to go down to a diet of new meat and mangoes before food could be got up from the coast. The Colonel was especially energetic. His regiment kept about two days ahead with provision, and one day the First Illinois had no food at all. One of the men offered seven dollars for seven hard-tacks. Colonel Roosevelt rode to the seacoast and got a pack train to bring up something for the Illinois boys to eat. A commissary is mentioned, Colonel Weston, "who would let me get the food without inquiring too closely whether I wanted it for officers or men." The medical supplies were insufficient. There was plenty of quinine and calomel, and very little else. After the truce, they got some tarpaulins and dog tents; finally, two big tarpaulins for the hospital.

Going to look after some of his men, the Colonel saw terrible sights. There were not enough surgeons. They could be seen jerking their heads to keep awake at the operating table. Some of the men after being operated upon were carried out and put down in the jungle and left in the tall grass, because there was no one to look after them, and some of them said afterward it was from twenty-four to twenty-six hours before anyone gave them water. This was at the Red Cross Hospital. Miss Clara Barton was right there; the doctors were all doing their best, working as hard as any soldier in the trenches, but the treatment was so hard upon the men, even sick men could not be got to go to the rear. There were no cots for the wounded; they lay in the mud on their blankets.

"Finally General Wood ordered me not to send any man to the rear who was sick or wounded if he could possibly be attended to at the front, for there was no provision for attending to them at the rear, and even before he had given this order we had ceased sending them. There were no cots for the wounded. They only had blankets, and they lay in the mud on their blankets. If they didn't have blankets they lay in the mud without their blankets, sick and wounded alike. I saw one of my men who was shot through the hips; his blanket had been taken. His name, I think, was Gievers, and he was lying there in the mud without a blanket. I succeeded in getting a man to give him his blanket. I promised him half my blanket if he would give me his, and I would tear his in half and give it to Gievers and keep half myself; but he gave half to Gievers and took the other half himself and wouldn't take mine at all. The wounded behaved in the most uncomplaining way. I can't sufficiently emphasize how they (and of course the bulk of them were soldiers in the Regular Army) behaved; how brave they were. It has left an impression that will never wear out. I can not say too much of the Regulars, of their courage in battle, and their uncomplaining endurance both of hardships and of suffering afterward. I never heard them grumble, I never heard them complain, and they would help one another all they could; but the suffering was great, and that was why I wanted some delicacies for my men at the camp. We would normally have only 15 to 25 per cent on the sick list, but of the remaining 75 per cent 50 were more than half sick. Toward the end, in the whole cavalry division, you could not have gotten more than a fourth of the men who could have carried their packs and walked 5 miles in that hot weather. It was for those half-sick men, and for the sick with temperatures of 102 and 103, that I wanted something besides the bacon and hard tack, and that I wanted condensed milk, oatmeal, and rice; and those things I did at last get in the city and from the Red Cross."

The transports were better going home than coming back.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SANTIAGO BATTLES ASHORE.

Col. Roosevelt on the Fire Lines—Led the Way with His Volunteers—Official Reports of Superior Officers and His Own—Going Home with the Sick—Important Military Suggestions—Lessons of Actual Service.

MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER'S report, dated "Headquarters, Cavalry Division, camp six and one-half miles east of Santiago de Cuba, June 26, 1898," states, that on the evening of the 23rd General Young reached Siboney, with eight troops of Colonel Wood's regiment (it will be remembered that this was the regiment of which President Roosevelt was Lieutenant Colonel), and troops of other cavalry regiments, making a total force of nine hundred and sixty-four men, who had marched eleven miles; and General Wheeler states, that when the position of the enemy was explained, he determined to make an attack. No one who knew General Wheeler was surprised that he would determine to make an attack at any time. The position of the enemy was examined, and the fighting was very warm, "the enemy being very lavish in the expenditure of ammunition." The enemy gave way finally, and retreated rapidly, "our line keeping well closed upon them," but our men, physically exhausted by their exertions and the great heat, were incapable of maintaining the pursuit.

Colonel Wood's regiment (Roosevelt Lieutenant Colonel), General Wheeler remarked, was too far distant on the extreme left of his line, for him to be a personal witness of the individual conduct of his officers and men; "but the magnificent and brave work done by its regiment under the lead of the Colonel, testifies to his courage and skill;" and General Wheeler says, "I desire personally to add that all I have said about Colonel Wood applies equally to Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt."

General Kent reports, that at Fort San Juan, at 1:30 P. M., the attack was made under the personal leadership of General Hawkins, and the enemy driven to the second line of rifle pickets. At ten minutes past three two requests were received, one from Colonel Wood and one from General Sumner, asking for assistance for the cavalry, "as they were hard pressed." The Thirteenth Infantry was immediately sent. Brigadier General Young, in his report, dated

near Santiago, June 29th says: "Attention is called to Colonel Wood's report on the conduct of Captain Capron, Major Brodie, Captain McClintock, and others." General Young added: "I cannot speak too highly of the efficient manner in which Colonel Wood handles his regiment, and of his magnificent behavior on the field. The conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt, as reported to me by my two aides, deserves my highest commendation. Both Colonel Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt disdained to take advantage of shelter or cover from the enemy's fire while any of their men remained exposed to it—an error of judgment, but happily on the heroic side. I beg leave to repeat that the behavior of all men of the regular and volunteer forces engaged in this action, was simply superb, and I feel highly honored to be in the command of such troops." Colonel Leonard Wood, First United States Volunteer Cavalry, commanding Second Brigade, Cavalry Division, reports from the trenches about Santiago de Cuba, July 5th. He bears the usual testimony about the superiority of the Spanish artillery, using smokeless powder, with the result that they promptly located by the clouds of smoke from our guns our position, and inflicted quite a severe loss upon both the brigade and battery, the First Volunteer Cavalry (the Roosevelt regiment) being the principal sufferers.

The Colonel traces the course of the action, and says "that dismounted cavalry should have been able to charge regular infantry in the strong position supported by artillery and the general lay of the land, seems almost incredible; yet this is exactly what the cavalry division did in this fight, passing over a long zone of fire, and charging steep hills topped with works and blockhouses. Of the five officers of the Brigade staff, four were killed or wounded, and one exhausted by the intense heat;" and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt is credited with conspicuous gallantry in leading a charge on one of the hills. The brigade took into action 75 officers and 1,446 men; lost 21 officers, killed and wounded; 217 men, killed and wounded; a loss of twenty-eight per cent of officers and fifteen per cent of enlisted men. Colonel Wood says: "Major Webb Hayes, a son of President Hayes, on duty temporarily with the brigade, was cool and collected under fire, did gallant service, and was slightly wounded."

Colonel Wood, in his report of the engagement at Guasavas, nine miles from Santiago, June 24, refers to the severe loss of gallant men, Captain Capron dying soon after the termination of the fight, but performed service "of the very greatest value," and Colonel Wood says: "The First Squadron was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, and the Second under Major Alex O. Brodie. Both of these officers deserve great credit for the intelligence and courage with which they handled their men."

We append the official reports of Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt

to Colonel Wood; the first dated "Trenches outside Santiago, July 4, 1898;" and the second dated at "Camp Hamilton, near Santiago de Cuba, July 20, 1898."

"Trenches outside Santiago, July 4, 1898.

"Col. Leonard Wood,

"Commanding Second Cavalry Brigade.

"Sir: On July 1 the regiment, with myself in command, was moved out by your orders directly following the First Brigade. Before leaving the camping ground several of our men were wounded by shrapnel. After crossing the river at the ford we were moved along and up its right bank under fire and were held in reserve at a sunken road. Here we lost a good many men, including Captain O'Neil, killed, and Lieutenant Haskell, wounded. We then received your order to advance and support the regular cavalry in the attack on the intrenchments and blockhouses on the hills to the left. The regiment was deployed on both sides of the road, and moved forward until we came to the rearmost lines of the regulars. We continued to move forward until I ordered a charge, and the men rushed the blockhouse and rifle pits on the hill to the right of our advance. They did the work in fine shape, though suffering severely. The guidons of Troops E and G were first planted on the summit, though the first men up were some A and B troopers, who were with me.

"We then opened fire on the intrenchments on a hill to our left which some of the other regiments were assailing and which they carried a few minutes later. Meanwhile we were under a heavy rifle fire from the intrenchments along the hills to our front, from whence they also shelled us with a piece of field artillery until some of our marksmen silenced it. When the men got their wind we charged again and carried the second line of intrenchments with a rush. Swinging to the left, we then drove the Spaniards over the brow of the chain of hills fronting Santiago. By this time the regiments were much mixed, and we were under a very heavy fire, both of shrapnel and from rifles from the batteries, intrenchments, and forts immediately in front of the city. On the extreme front I now found myself in command with fragments of the six cavalry regiments of the two brigades under me. The Spaniards made one or two efforts to retake the line, but were promptly driven back.

"Both General Sumner and you sent me word to hold the line at all hazards, and that night we dug a line of intrenchments across our front, using the captured Spaniards' intrenching tools. We had nothing to eat except what we captured from the Spaniards; but their dinners had fortunately been cooked, and we ate them with relish, having been fighting all day. We had no blankets and coats, and lay by the trenches all night. The Spaniards attacked us once in the night, and at dawn they opposed a heavy artillery and rifle fire. Very great assistance was rendered us by Lieutenant Parker's Gatling battery at crit-

ical moments; he fought his guns at the extreme front of the firing line in a way that repeatedly called forth the cheers of my men. One of the Spanish batteries which was used against us was directly in front of the hospital so that the Red Cross flag flew over the battery, saving it from our fire for a considerable period. The Spanish Mauser bullets made clean wounds; but they also used a copper-jacketed or brass-jacketed bullet which exploded, making very bad wounds indeed.

"Since then we have continued to hold the ground; the food has been short; and until to-day we could not get our blankets, coats, or shelter tents, while the men lay all day under the fire from the Spanish batteries, intrenchments, and guerrillas in trees, and worked all night in the trenches, never even taking off their shoes. But they are in excellent spirits, and ready and anxious to carry out any orders they receive. At the end of the first day the eight troops were commanded, two by captains, three by first lieutenants, two by second lieutenants, and one by the sergeant whom you made acting lieutenant.

"We went into the fight about 490 strong, 86 were killed or wounded, and there are about half a dozen missing. The great heat prostrated nearly 40 men, some of them among the best in the regiment. Besides Captain O'Neil and Lieutenant Haskell, Lieutenants Leahy, Devereux, and Carr were wounded. All behaved with great gallantry. As for Captain O'Neil, his loss is one of the severest that could have befallen the regiment. He was a man of cool head, great executive capacity, and literally dauntless courage.

"The guerrillas in trees not only fired at our troops, but seemed to devote themselves especially to shooting at the surgeons, the hospital assistants with Red Cross bandages on their arms, the wounded who were being carried in litters, and the burying parties. Many of the guerrillas were dressed in green uniforms. We sent out a detail of sharpshooters among those in our rear, along the line where they had been shooting the wounded, and killed thirteen.

"To attempt to give a list of the men who showed signal valor would necessitate sending in an almost complete roster of the regiment. Many of the cases which I mention stand merely as examples of the rest, not as exceptions. Captain Jenkins acted as major, and showed such conspicuous gallantry and efficiency that I earnestly hope he may be promoted to major as soon as a vacancy occurs. Captains Lewellen, Muller, and Luna led their troops throughout the charges, handling them admirably. At the end of the battle Lieutenants Kane, Greenwood, and Goodrich were in charge of their troops, immediately under my eye, and I wish particularly to commend their conduct throughout. Lieutenant Franz, who commanded his troop, also did well.

"Corporals Waller and Fortesque and Trooper McKinley, of Troop E; Corporal Rhoads, of Troop D; Troopers Allerton, Winter, MacGregor, and Ray Clark, of Troop F; Troopers Bugbee, Jackson, and Waller, of Troop A; Trumpeter Macdonald, of Troop L; Sergeant Hughes, of Troop B, and Trooper Geiven, of Troop G, all continued to fight after being wounded, some very severely. Most of them fought until the end of the day.

"Trooper Oliver B. Norton, of B, with his brother, was by my side throughout the charging, was killed while fighting with marked gallantry. Sergeant Ferguson, Corporal Lee, and Troopers Bell and Carroll, of Troop K; Sergeant Daine, of Troop E; Troopers Goodwin, Campbell, and Dudley Dean, and Trumpeter Foster, of B, and Troopers Greenwald and Bardelas, of A, are all worthy of special mention for coolness and gallantry. They merit promotion when the opportunity comes. But the most conspicuous gallantry was shown by Trooper Rowland. He was wounded in the side in our first fight, but kept in the firing line. He was sent to the hospital next day, but left it and marched out to us, overtaking us, and fought all through this battle with such indifference to danger that I was forced again and again to rate and threaten him for running needless risk.

"Great gallantry was also shown by four troopers whom I cannot identify, and by Trooper Winslow Clark, of G. It was after we had taken the first hill—I had called out to rush the second, and, having by that time lost my horse, climbed a wire fence and started toward it. After going a couple of hundred yards, under a heavy fire, I found that no one else had come; as I discovered later, it was simply because in the confusion, with men shooting and being shot, they had not noticed me start. I told the five men to wait a moment, as it might be misunderstood if we all ran back, while I ran back and started the regiment; and as soon as I did so the regiment came with a rush. But meanwhile the five men coolly lay down in the open, returning the fire from the trenches. It is to be wondered at that only Clark was seriously wounded, and he called out, as we parted again, to lay his canteen where he could reach it, but to continue the charge and leave him where he was. All the wounded had to be left until after the fight, for we could spare no men from the firing line.

Very respectfully,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

"Lieutenant Colonel, First United States Volunteer Cavalry."

"Camp Hamilton, near Santiago de Cuba, July 20, 1898.

"Brig. Gen. Leonard Wood,

"Commanding Second Brigade Cavalry Division.

"Sir: In obedience to your directions, I herewith report on the operations of my regiment from the 1st to the 17th instant, inclusive.

"As I have already made you two reports about the first day's operations, I shall pass them over rather briefly. On the morning of the 1st my regiment was formed at the head of the Second Brigade, by the El Poso sugar mill. When the batteries opened, the Spaniards replied to us with shrapnel, which killed and wounded several of the men of my regiment. We then marched toward the right, and my regiment crossed the ford before the balloon came down there and attracted the fire of the enemy, so that at that point we lost no one. My orders had been to march forward until I joined General Lawton's left wing, but after going about three-quarters of a mile I was halted and told to remain in reserve near the creek by a deep lane. The bullets dropped thick among us for the next hour while we lay there, and many of my men were killed or wounded. Among the former was Captain O'Neil, whose loss was a very heavy blow to the regiment, for he was a singularly gallant and efficient officer. Acting Lieutenant Haskell was also shot at this time. He showed the utmost courage, and had been of great use during the fighting and marching. It seems to me some action should be taken about him.

"You then sent me word to move forward in support of the regular cavalry, and I advanced the regiment in columns of companies, each company deployed as skirmishers. We moved through several skirmish lines of the regiment ahead of us, as it seemed to me that our only chance was in rushing the intrenchments in front instead of firing at them from a distance. Accordingly we charged the blockhouse and intrenchments on the hill to our right against a heavy fire. It was taken in good style, the men of my regiment thus being the first to capture any fortified position and to break through the Spanish lines. The guidons of G and E troops were first at this point, but some of the men of A and B troops who were with me personally got in ahead of them. At the last wire fence up this hill I was obliged to abandon my horse, and after that went on foot. After capturing this hill we first of all directed a heavy fire upon the San Juan hill to our left, which was at the time being assailed by the regular infantry and cavalry, supported by Captain Parker's Gatling guns. By the time San Juan was taken a large force had assembled on the hill we had previously captured, consisting not only of my own regiment but of the Ninth and of portions of other cavalry regiments. We then charged forward under a heavy fire across the valley against the Spanish intrenchments on the hill in the rear of San Juan hill. This we also took, capturing several prisoners. We then formed in what order we could and moved forward, driving the Spaniards before us to the crest of the hills in our front, which were immediately opposite the city of Santiago itself. Here I received orders to halt and hold the line of the hill crest. I had at that time fragments of the six cavalry regiments and an occasional infantryman under

me—three or four hundred men all told. As I was the highest there, I took command of all of them, and so continued until next morning.

"The Spanish attempted a counter attack that afternoon, but were easily driven back, and then and until dark we remained under a heavy fire from their rifles and great guns, lying flat on our faces on the gentle slope just behind the crest. Captain Parker's Gatling battery was run up to the right of my regiment, and did most excellent and gallant service. In order to charge, the men had, of course, been obliged to throw away their packs, and we had nothing to sleep in and nothing to eat. We were lucky enough, however, to find in the last blockhouse captured the Spanish dinner still cooking, which we ate with relish. It consisted chiefly of rice and peas, with a big pot containing a stew of fresh meat, probably for the officers. We also distributed the captured Spanish blankets as far as they would go among our men, and gathered a good deal of the Mauser ammunition for use in the Colt's rapid-fire guns which were being brought up. That night we dug intrenchments across our front. At three o'clock in the morning the Spaniards made another attack upon us, which was easily repelled, and at four they opened the day with a heavy rifle and shrapnel fire. All day long we lay under this, replying whenever we got the chance. In the evening, at about eight o'clock, the Spaniards fired their guns, and then a heavy rifle fire, their skirmishers coming well forward. I got all my men down into the trenches, as did the other commands near me, and we opened a heavy return fire. The Spanish advance was at once stopped, and after an hour their fire died away. This night we completed most of our trenches, and began to build bombproofs. The protection afforded to our men was good, and next morning had but one man wounded from the rifle and shell fire until twelve o'clock, when the truce came.

"I do not mention the officers and men who particularly distinguished themselves, as I have nothing to add in this respect to what was contained in my two former letters. There were numerous Red Cross flags flying in various parts of the city, two of them so arranged that they directly covered batteries in our front and for some time were the cause of our not firing at them. The Spanish guerrillas were very active, especially in our rear, where they seemed by preference to attack the wounded men who were being carried on litters, the doctors and medical attendants with Red Cross bandages on their arms, and the burial parties. I organized a detail of sharpshooters and sent them out after the guerrillas, of whom they killed thirteen. Two of the men thus killed were shot several hours after the truce had been in operation, because, in spite of this fact, they kept firing upon our men as they went to draw water. They were stationed in trees (as the guerrillas were generally), and owing to the density of the foliage and to the use of smokeless-powder rifles, it was an exceedingly difficult matter to locate them. For the next seven days, until

the 10th, we lay in our lines, while the truce continued. We had continually to work at additional bombproofs and at the trenches, and as we had no proper supply of food and utterly inadequate medical facilities, the men suffered a good deal. The officers clubbed together to purchase beans, tomatoes, and sugar for the men, so that they might have some relief from the bacon and hard-tack. With a great deal of difficulty we got them coffee.

"As for the sick and wounded, they suffered so in the hospitals when sent to the rear from lack of food and attention that we found it best to keep them at the front and give them such care as our own doctors could. As I mentioned in my previous letter, thirteen of our wounded men continued to fight through the battle in spite of their wounds, and of those sent to the rear many, both of the sick and wounded, came up to rejoin us as soon as their condition allowed them to walk. Most of the worst cases were ultimately sent to the States.

"On the 10th the truce was at an end, and the bombardment reopened. As far as our lines were concerned, it was on the Spanish part very feeble. We suffered no losses, and speedily got the fire from their trenches in our front completely under. On the 11th we were moved three-quarters of a mile to the right, the truce again being on. Nothing happened here except we continued to watch and do our best to get the men, especially the sick, properly fed; and having no transportation and being unable to get hardly any through the regular channels, we used anything we could find—captured Spanish cavalry horses, abandoned mules, which had been shot, but which our men took and cured, diminutive skinny ponies purchased from the Cubans, etc. By these means and by the exertions of the officers we were able from time to time to get supplies of beans, sugar, tomatoes, and even oatmeal, while from the Red Cross people we got one invaluable load of rice, corn meal, etc. All of this was of the utmost consequence, not only for the sick normically well, as the lack of proper food was telling terribly on the men. It was utterly impossible to get them clothes and shoes; those they had were, in many cases, literally dropping to pieces.

"On the 17th the city surrendered. On the 18th we shifted camp to here, the best camp we have had; but the march hither under the noonday sun told very heavily on our men, weakened by underfeeding and overwork, and next morning 123 cases were reported to the doctors, and I now have but half the 600 men with which I landed four weeks ago, fit for duty, and these are not fit to do anything like the work they could do then. As we had but one wagon, the change necessitated leaving much of the stuff behind, with a night of discomfort, with scanty shelter and scanty food, for most of the officers and many of the men. Only the possession of the improvised pack train alluded to above saved this from being worse. Yesterday I sent

in a detail of six officers and men to see if they could not purchase or make arrangements for a supply of proper food and proper clothing for the men, even if we had to pay for it out of our own pockets. Our suffering has been due primarily to lack of transportation, and of proper food, and sufficient clothing, and of medical supplies. We should now have wagon sheets for tentage.

Very respectfully,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

The war over, the Colonel's testimony continued, there were privations; "still, we got along home, and we were very glad to get back." Camp Wikoff was reached August 15, and "after a few days all was agreeable, except the confusion in finding where the men were in hospital, because the paper work was not as good as the medical work." The Colonel would ask his men how they were being treated, and they would answer, "This is Heaven." They were getting chicken broth; they were getting milk. "We got so much milk and goodies and things like that that we finally had to stop receiving them. I would take them around, and give them to other regiments. My troop commanders, and the regimental commanders who reported to me when I was brigade commander would report that they could not use any more delicacies; that they didn't want any more and couldn't use any more."

The Colonel was asked whether the privations were greater than he expected and his reply was, "I didn't expect anything one way or another. I just went to take things as they occurred. I didn't know what we would have, but I think that the privations as regards medical supplies and food were greater than it was necessary to have them, because I believe if we had had sufficient animals for transportation that most of the privations could have been avoided." Asked whether there was anything he could add that would assist in the labors the President had assigned, the Colonel said: "I believe that if our Army were exercised in peace as European armies are, very much of this trouble would have been avoided. I do not see how you can expect to avoid serious trouble if you are not accustomed to handling more than 300 men at a time. I believe that if in time of peace you could get ten or fifteen thousand men together, and one year take them to the Turtle Mountains and march them across to Pembina, or from San Antonio to Galveston, say, and then embark them for Tampa and disembark them and march up to Jacksonville, after you had done that two or three times all of the defects in the Quartermaster's Department and the Commissary Department would have been made evident and would have worked their own cure, and you would not have one tithe of the difficulties that we had when we started suddenly to do it offhand. I would like to say, too (and this is part from my experience in the Navy Department), that the Ordnance and Quartermaster's Bureau and I think the Commissary Bureau should not be separated from the line.

Admiral Sampson used the guns which he built when he was head of the Ordnance Bureau of the Navy Department, and a man goes through the Ordnance Bureau fresh from being a line officer. I believe it would be of the greatest advantage if you could have your ordnance men and your quartermasters in the Army detailed for some years from the line and sent back to the line again. I believe it would be for the advantage of the line and for the advantage of the Army, as it is for the Navy. I am basing my opinion, of course, not so much upon my experience in the Army as in the Navy, and upon what so many officers have told me in the Army itself. But as for the other matter—the need of exercising the Army in peace—I am sure it is the only practical way of working out all the reforms that we need. You can not sit down and plan out on paper so that the thing will move smoothly if you don't have practice in the field, and I could see the improvement that went on before my eyes, even among the regular officers, in the field. I saw the men embarking on the transports the second time, and the improvement in the order in which it was done. The quartermaster and commissaries began to accommodate themselves to the needs of the service after we had been on the island a few weeks. Any amount of good will be done if each year the Army is actually put through in peace what it might have to be put through in war, only you have got to make up your mind that it will take some money to allow that to be done."

As the Colonel who made these remarkable recommendations is President of the United States, the suggestions are important. There is reason to believe that the President is of the same mind that the Colonel was.

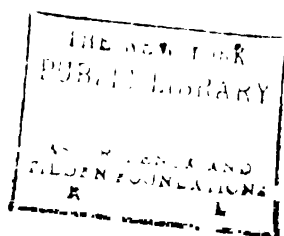
When and where there was no fighting to do, Colonel Roosevelt did not want to stay with the forms, but not the facts of war. He was headstrong to go to the fight, but when it was fought out, he wanted to abandon the fields that were won, and there was no further harvest of glory to gather, but the fever had already glared in the sickly camps, clutching victims here and there, while history told that the yellow horror would hasten thousands to their graves, where the smokeless Spanish rifle had harvested but hundreds.

It was not in the nature of the man who had fitted our fleets for war while there was peace, so that two days' good work cleared the seas for us and gave us command of the Spanish colonies; hastened from Texas with the finest war material on the continent and stormed to the front, seizing a transport subject to discordant jurisdiction, and with a Cuban pilot secured a landing among the first, and made a forced march to the front where the fighting was hottest, putting the volunteers at the head of the invasion at one point, and elsewhere a close and pushing second to the regulars—it was not according to the make-up of this leader to await the tediousness of the summons to join the caravan that we read of in *Thanatopsis* "moves

forever through the gates of death," in the very heart of that region in the Antilles, where the pestilence wastes; and the armies of the great nations that contended for dominion of the islands that had the fatal gift of beauty—England, Spain and France—perished by tens of thousands. It was not a secret to those vigilant for finding information that Spain lost sixteen thousand men by fever in one of the years of what was called the Ten Years War—the great struggle terminated by the peace made with Gomez and others by Martinez Campos.

Colonel Roosevelt was convinced that the place where the first clash of arms would be heard between the American and Spanish armies in Cuba, would be the spot history would mark with the decree of destiny—the Decision of the Trial by Battle. President McKinley had in mind the same thing. He knew the war must not wait for the volunteer army in the course of organization; for, if that was to be the way, there would be a frightful sacrifice of the young men of our country, and a flood of money poured out. The one thing needful and urgent was to use the troops in fighting trim, and put them forward as the head of a spear, thrust where the stab would inflict a mortal wound and break the force of Spain.

The Spanish fleet was sent forward from Cadiz as a forlorn hope of preventing what we call the investment of Cuba; and such was the improvidence of Spain that her navy was but ill provided to cross the ocean and go into active service in the West Indies. There has been no Assistant Secretary of the Roosevelt stamp in the Spanish Navy Department. Only a part of the home fleet of the Spaniards was seaworthy, as was established when there was an attempted diversion by an advertised expedition through the Mediterranean and beyond to Manila to attack the victorious fleet of Admiral Dewey in Philippine waters. Cervera's squadron, after making a show in the Southern part of the Caribbean Sea, disappeared for a time, and the defense had the advantage of detaining for a few days our Cuban expedition, because it was impossible to foresee what the Spaniards would attempt, though certainly they could not have any chance of doing great damage to the Americans except by attacking unguarded transports carrying masses of troops. It was Cervera's fate to be constrained by a scarcity of coal to put into Santiago, and there the facilities for coaling the ships were so insufficient that the Spaniards were detained and blockaded in a port not connected with Havana or any other city of Cuba, by railroad. The fleet indispensable to the defense of Cuba by Spain was, therefore, by the act of running into the Harbor of Santiago, put out of touch with the Spanish army in Cuba, with the exception of the garrison of Santiago. A spirited effort was made to reinforce Santiago, but the Cuban insurgents interfered materially with the movement of the Spaniards for the relief of Santiago, detaining the





COL. LEONARD WOOD
LIEUT.-COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT

column on the way during several critical days. The only help the Spanish Navy was enabled to give in the defense of Santiago, was by landing men and guns from the fleet, and bettering the equipment of the garrison with arms and ammunition. If Cervera had been able to reach Cienfuegos with his squadron, there could have been direct co-operation with the great body of Spanish troops concentrated in the West end of Cuba for the defense of Havana; and the Captain General enabled to pour by rail into the town so considerable a force, that, acting behind intrenchments, they would, in all probability, if they fought with the gallantry displayed at Santiago, have made good their defense until divisions of our volunteers could take part; and this itself would have been sufficient for the introduction of the dreaded pestilence into our camps.

The rail connection of Cienfuegos with the railway system of Cuba would have enabled the Spaniards to concentrate for the defense of the fleet in that harbor, and, at least, the protraction of the siege for an indefinite time, and undoubtedly a very costly campaign. Owing to our superior resources, such a struggle would have terminated in the defeat and surrender of the Spaniards, but for us an enormous expenditure of life.

Many of our officers of distinction made the mistake of under-valuation of the import of the first blow, and a speedy victory.

When the defenders of Santiago, with the fleet, were destroyed, the Spaniards beaten back into their defenses, and the city surrendered, the capitulation carried with it the whole department, with all its garrisons; and then the end of the war was in sight. The Spanish fleets annihilated at Manila and Santiago, Spain was helpless, both in the Philippines and the Indies, and had nothing afloat to defend the Spanish peninsula from the attacks of the American fleet. We had Spain's army in Cuba in a great trap. We did not in August need to undertake the campaign in detail. It was not necessary for us to pour our masses of volunteers into the islands, or to hold the troops that we had there in the fever season, on lines and in villages where the yellow pestilence had appeared. There was no secret about the fever, burning like a monster furnace to consume our young men. Under Spanish conditions the fever was always in Cuba. The idea that it was, in a military and moral sense, necessary to keep our troops at Santiago, or to transport our men from the great camps in our own country to the West end of Cuba to make a display of activity, was wholly inconsiderate. The Spaniards were incapable of aggression, and we had only to wait that their resources of ammunition and provision might be exhausted, while if we insisted upon besieging Havana when it would have to fall with its own weight, and inherent horrors and weaknesses, we would have simply been contributing a multitude of our men to the graveyards of the island. The

policy of holding the troops in Cuba, and adding to them, was simply that of finding fuel for an awful conflagration that would have effected no military object, and was not warranted by anything in human affairs.

It was as rough and ready, hot and swift, in Roosevelt's mind, to evacuate the island, and get out of it, with the men who had done the necessary work already, as it had been in the first place to get there with the utmost dispatch and force the fighting without the delay of a day, pressing it to immediate conclusion. There was the same demand to get away from the plague spot that there had been to get to the fighting line. When the line vanished, there was no reason why American soldiers should be detained in that climate, unless to guard the captive Spaniards from being massacred by the Cubans before they could be sent home, according to the terms of the protocol and capitulation, as immediately proposed and approved. If there had been a danger of the slaughter, in sheer revenge of our captives, there would have been a sufficient reason to have given them their captured guns, that they might take care of themselves.

Colonel Roosevelt promoted the policy of the evacuation of the yellow fever district. It was the policy of peace and humanity that was already triumphant in the war, to save not only our own soldiers, who were the most exposed of any to the ravages of the pestilence, but to save the Spaniards also from semi-starvation, and an unparalleled death rate; and to prevent the ill-clad, poorly armed and weary Cubans from further struggles and suffering and losses in protracting a struggle which had already been substantially closed to their enduring advantage.

There was no chance for any more war with Spain unless we crossed the ocean to find it. The fact was plain at Paris that if there could not be a treaty made by the Commissioners there assembled, and if we had to go on with the war, we would be obliged to find the fighting on the soil of Europe, or in the Spanish islands in the Mediterranean and on the coast of Africa.

In the comprehensive and exceedingly valuable testimony before the Commission, to investigate the conduct of the war with Spain, Colonel Roosevelt said that when on the way to the wholesome shores of Long Island, sailing away from the Cuban malarial climate and fever breeding soil, while there were still hardships to encounter, though the transports were crowded, and there were many discomforts because we had not been accustomed to sea-faring armies, there was joyous animation and helpful hope, as the days passed, that gave relief to the sick and preserved the health of those who had maintained it. The American boys are apt to be homesick when far away in the tropical gardens, and talk about the land of the corn stalk and the apple tree and the wheat fields, and all that they remember that they had

fondness for and treasure recollections of in the States—they sum it all up and speak with unspeakable longing for “God’s country.” No wonder, when the sick boys, saved from the fevers of Cuba, found themselves on Long Island, with the ocean breezes from one quarter, and those of the Sound and New England from the other, and began to receive such attentions as they were accustomed to at home, to have such delicacies as the sick are served with in the home hospitals, where the water was pure and the ice was plenty, and they saw only pleasant faces about them, that they expressed their emotions in the words, “This is Heaven.”

CHAPTER IX.

THE ROUND ROBIN LETTER.

Secretary of War Alger and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt Differ Radically—The Full Correspondence—The Rough Rider Was Tender Hearted, and Saved Thousands of Sick Men—He Unbound the Army Tied in Fever Camps by Cutting the Red Tape.

GENERAL RUSSELL A. ALGER, War Secretary of the McKinley Administration, during the war with Spain, has published a history which he was in good position to make of value, and the volume contributes much of interest. He contends that the "Round Robin" letter had nothing whatever to do with either the return of the Fifth corps to the United States or the selection of Montauk Point. The "R. R." paper was published on the 4th of August. General Alger was indignant and alarmed, and many ills appeared in his excitement that were after all fanciful. General Alger says the enemy secured information our Government was anxious to conceal, and after a conference at the White House, this message was sent:

"White House, Washington, Aug. 4, 1898.

"General Shafter, Santiago:

"At this time, when peace is talked of, it seems strange that you should give out your cable, signed by your general officers, concerning the condition of your army, to the Associated Press without permission from the War Department. You did not even await a reply to your communication.

"R. A. ALGER,

"Secretary of War."

To which General Shafter replied:

"Santiago de Cuba, August 4, 1898.

"Hon. R. A. Alger, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

"The report was given out, as I have since learned, before it reached me. I called the general officers together, to tell them what I proposed to do, and to express to them my views, and ask them to give me a letter, setting forth their views, and I told them to do so. Meanwhile, I wrote my telegram, and later it was handed in and forwarded, with the letter of the surgeons and the letter of these officers. It was not until some time after that I

learned their letter had been given to the press. It was a foolish improper thing to do, and I regret very much that it occurred. . . . I have been very careful about giving to the press any information, and I will continue to do so.

"W. R. SHAFTER,

"Major General."

General Alger says: When the President read the "Round Robin" for the first time in the newspapers he became much excited and indignant. Every possible effort was made to ascertain the name of the person responsible for its publication, that he might be called to a proper account for the act, but in vain.

To counteract the effect of the "Round Robin," the following statement was given to the press:

"War Department,

"Adjutant-General's Office, August 4, 1898.

"The Secretary of War has ordered General Shafter's troops relieved from further duty in Santiago as fast as transportation can be provided, and the transfer of Spanish prisoners will admit of reduction of the garrison. . . . These will sail for New York as fast as they can be comfortably embarked. The rest at Montauk Point will prepare these seasoned troops for the campaign against Havana, in which they will probably take part. The first transport left Santiago yesterday. The movement is expected to be completed by the 20th of the month. Five United States volunteer regiments, immunes, have been ordered to Santiago for garrison duty. The first has already arrived; the others are being pushed forward as rapidly as transportation can be furnished."

As soon as the announcement was made that the "immune" regiments were to be sent to Santiago, many protests were received against such action. No attention, however, could be paid to these communications. The following indicates their general character:

"Macon, Georgia, August 5, 1898.

"General H. C. Corbin, Adjutant-General U. S. A., Washington, D. C.:

"It is distinctly understood throughout the whole country that the 3d Regiment United States Volunteers, although called immune, are no more immune from yellow fever than any other volunteer regiment. It is composed almost exclusively of Georgians, nearly all of whom are very young men, and many of them minors. When enlisted, the Government subjected them to a rigid physical examination, but no proof was demanded or desired as to their immunity from yellow fever. To send these young men and boys to Santiago, at this time, with no enemy to fight, is to expose them to the same deadly peril from yellow fever as is now said to confront those who, having reaped the honors, are now demanding to be sent to a Northern seaside. If

more troops were now needed at Santiago, or if fighting were to be done, then the order for this regiment would be approved by all; but it is a wholly different matter to send them into a pestilence that other soldiers, who are probably more nearly immune than they, may be removed from the danger. A solemn sense of my duty to these young men impels me, therefore, to request most earnestly and urgently that the order for their removal to Santiago be revoked. I send this without the knowledge of any officer or man in the regiment.

"A. O. BACON,

"United States Senator."

"Santiago de Cuba, August 4, 1898.—Summoned by Major General Shafter, a meeting was held here this morning at headquarters, and in the presence of every commanding and medical officer of the Fifth Army Corps, General Shafter read a cable message from Secretary Alger, ordering him, at the recommendation of Surgeon General Sternberg, to move the army into the interior of San Luis, where it is supposed to be more healthful.

"As a result of the conference, General Shafter will insist upon the immediate withdrawal of the army north, or within two weeks. As an explanation of the situation, the following letter from Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, commanding the First Volunteer Cavalry, to General Shafter, was handed by the latter to the correspondent of the Associated Press for publication:

"Major General Shafter, Sir: In a meeting of the general and medical officers called by you at the Palace this morning, we were all, as you know, unanimous as to what should be done with the army. To keep us here, in the opinion of every officer commanding a division or brigade, will simply involve the destruction of thousands. There is no possible reason for not shipping practically the entire command North at once. Yellow fever cases are very few in the cavalry division where I command one of the two brigades, and not one true case of yellow fever has occurred in this division, except among the men sent to the hospital at Siboney, where they have, I believe, contracted it. But in this division there have been fifteen hundred cases of malarial fever. Not a man has died from it, but the whole command has been so weakened and shattered as to be ripe for dying like rotten sheep, when a real yellow fever epidemic, instead of a fake epidemic like the present, strikes us, as it is bound to if we stay here at the height of the sickness season, August, and the beginning of September. Quarantine against malarial fever is like quarantine against the toothache. All of us are certain, as soon as the authorities fully appreciate the conditions of the army, they will order us to be sent home.

"If we are kept here, it will in all human possibility mean an appalling disaster, for the surgeons here estimate that over half the army, if kept here

during the sickly season, will die. This is not only terrible from the standpoint of the individual lives lost, but it means ruin from the standpoint of the military efficiency of the flower of the American Army, for the great bulk of the regulars are here with you. The sick list, large although it is, exceeding four thousand, affords but a faint index of the debilities of the army. Not ten per cent are fit for active work.

“Six weeks on the North Maine coast, for instance, or elsewhere, where the yellow fever germ can not possibly propagate, would make us all as fit as fighting cocks, able as we are, and eager to take a leading part in the great campaign against Havana in the Fall, even if we are not allowed to try Puerto Rico.

“We can be moved North, if moved at once, with absolute safety to the country, although, of course, it would have been infinitely better if we had been moved North or to Puerto Rico two weeks ago. If there were any object in keeping us here, we would face yellow fever with as much indifference as we face bullets. But there is no object in it. The fever immune regiments ordered here are sufficient to garrison the city and surrounding towns, and there is absolutely nothing for us to do here, and there has not been since the city surrendered. It is impossible to move into the interior. Every shifting of camp doubles the sick rate in our present weakened condition, and, anyhow, the interior is rather worse than the coast, as I have found by actual reconnoissance. Our present camps are as healthy as any camps at this end of the island can be.

“I write only because I can not see our men, who have fought so bravely and who have endured extreme hardship and danger so uncomplainingly, go to destruction without striving, so far as lies in me, to avert a doom as fearful as it is unnecessary and undeserved.

“Yours respectfully,

“THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

“Colonel Commanding First Brigade.”

After Colonel Roosevelt had taken the initiative, all the American general officers united in a Round Robin addressed to General Shafter. It reads:

“We, the undersigned officers, commanding the various brigades, divisions, etc., of the army of occupation in Cuba, are of the unanimous opinion that this army should be at once taken out of the Island of Cuba, and sent to some point on the seacoast of the United States; that it can be done without danger to the people of the United States; that yellow fever in the army is not now epidemic; that there are only a few sporadic cases; but that the army is disabled by malarial fever to the extent that its efficiency is destroyed, and that it is in a condition to be practically entirely destroyed by an epidemic of yellow fever which is sure to come in the near future.

"We know from the reports of competent officers and from personal observations, that the army is unable to move into the interior, and that there are no facilities for such a move if attempted, and that it could not be attempted until too late. Moreover, the best authorities of the island say that with our present equipment we could not live in the interior during the rainy season without losses from malarial fever, which is almost as deadly as yellow fever.

"This army must be moved at once or perish. As the army can be safely moved now, the persons responsible for preventing such a move will be responsible for the unnecessary loss of many thousands of lives. Our opinions are the result of careful personal observation and they are also based on the unanimous opinion of our medical officers with the army, who understand the situation absolutely.

"J. FORD KENT,

"Major General Volunteers, Commanding First Division 5th Corps.

"J. C. BATES,

"Major General Volunteers, Commanding Provisional Division.

"ADNA R. CHAFFEE,

"Major General, Commanding Third Brigade, Second Division.

"SAMUEL S. SUMNER,

"Brigadier General Volunteers, Commanding First Brigade Cavalry.

"ADELBERT AMES,

"Brigadier General Volunteers, Commanding Third Brigade, 2nd Division.

"LEONARD WOOD,

"Brigadier General Volunteers, Commanding Second Cavalry Brigade.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

"Colonel Commanding Second Cavalry Brigade."

General Alger seems to have been excited when he wrote:

"It would be impossible to exaggerate the mischievous and wicked effects of the 'Round Robin.' It afflicted the country with a plague of anguish and apprehension. There are martyrs in all wars, but the most piteous of these are the silent, helpless, heartbroken ones who stay at home to weep and pray and wait—the mother, the sister, wife and sweetheart. To their natural suspense and suffering these publications added the pangs of imaginary terrors. They had endured, through sympathy, the battle-field, the wasting hardships of the camp, the campaign in the tropics, the fever-stricken trench. They might at least have been spared this wanton torture, this impalpable and formless yet overwhelming blow."

In his "Rough Rider" history, President Roosevelt gives his opinion in distinct and decisive terms, as follows:

"We should have probably spent the summer in our sick camps, losing half the men and hopelessly shattering the health of the remainder, if General Shafter had not summoned a council of officers, hoping by united action of a more or less public character, to wake up the Washington authorities to the actual condition of things. As all the Spanish forces in the province of Santiago had surrendered, and as so-called immune regiments were coming to garrison the conquered territory, there was literally not one thing of any kind whatsoever for the army to do, and no purpose to serve by keeping it at Santiago. We did not suppose that peace was at hand, being ignorant of the negotiations. We were anxious to take part in the Porto Rico campaign, and would have been more than willing to suffer any amount of sickness, if by so doing we could get into action. But if we were not to take part in the Porto Rico campaign, then we knew it was absolutely indispensable to get our commands north immediately, if they were to be in trim for the great campaign against Havana, which would surely be the main event of the winter if peace were not declared in advance.

"Our army included the great majority of the Regulars, and was, therefore, the flower of the American force. It was on every account imperative to keep it in good trim; and to keep it in Santiago meant its entirely purposeless destruction. As soon as the surrender was an accomplished fact, the taking away of the army to the north should have begun.

"Every officer, from the highest to the lowest, especially among the regulars, realized all of this, and about the last day of July, General Shafter called a conference, in the Palace, of all the division and brigade commanders. By this time, owing to Wood's having been made Governor-General, I was in command of my brigade; so I went to the conference too, riding in with Generals Sumner and Wheeler, who were the other representatives of the cavalry division. Besides the line officers, all the chief medical officers were present at the conference. The telegrams from the Secretary stating the position of himself and the Surgeon-General were read, and then almost every line and medical officer present expressed his views in turn. They were almost all Regulars and had been brought up to life-long habits of obedience without protest. They were ready to obey still, but they felt, quite rightly, that it was their duty to protest rather than to see the flower of the United States forces destroyed as the culminating act of a campaign in which the blunders that had been committed had been retrieved only by the valor and splendid soldierly qualities of the officers and enlisted men of the infantry and dismounted cavalry. There was not a dissenting voice, for there could not be. There was but one side to the question. To talk of continually shifting camp or of moving up the mountains into the interior was idle, for not one of the plans could be carried out with our utterly insufficient transportation, and

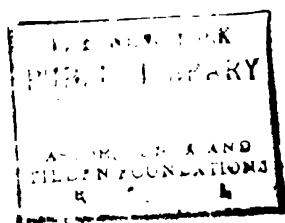
at that season and in that climate they would merely have resulted in aggravating the sickliness of the soldiers. It was deemed best to make some record of our opinion, in the shape of a letter or report, which would show that to keep the army in Santiago meant its absolute and objectless ruin, and that it should at once be recalled. At first, there was naturally some hesitation on the part of the Regular officers to take the initiative, for their entire future career might be sacrificed. So I wrote a letter to General Shafter, reading over the rough draft to the various Generals and adopting their corrections. Before I had finished making these corrections, it was determined that we should send a circular on behalf of all of us to General Shafter, and when I returned from presenting him mine, I found this circular letter already prepared and we all of us signed it. Both letters were made public. The result was immediate. Within three days the army was ordered to be ready to sail for home. As soon as it was known that we were to sail for home the spirits of the men changed for the better. In my regiment the officers began to plan methods of drilling the men on horseback, so as to fit them for use against the Spanish cavalry, if we should go against Havana in December. We had, all of us, eyed the captured Spanish cavalry with particular interest. The men were small, and the horses, though well trained and well built, were diminutive ponies, very much smaller than cow ponies. We were certain that if we ever got a chance to try shock tactics against them they would go down like nine-pins, provided only that our men could be trained to charge in any kind of line, and we made up our minds to devote our time to this. Dismounted work with the rifle we already felt thoroughly competent to perform."

Colonel Roosevelt commanding a brigade was never hard to understand. He did not for a moment hesitate to accept the responsibility, and he took it in this case. The alarms of General Alger were not supported by dangers, and there was no cause for outcry as to military discipline. Spain was no longer a belligerent. Her fleets had been destroyed, so that there was no question about the command of the seas. We were masters in the Philippines and the West Indies. Cuba could not receive reinforcements or munitions of war. The United States had an overwhelming army of volunteers, and we could crush the Spanish army in the West end of the island and invade the Spanish peninsula, capturing all the islands belonging to Spain in the Mediterranean and on the African coast. There was one great peril, and it could not be concealed,—that of the yellow fever pestilence. Our army was in a hotbed of fevers, and if it had not been removed with more system and celerity than it had been disembarked, there would have been an awful and wholly useless sacrifice of brave men.

All the Spanish war ships were destroyed, and the army of the Santiago



THEODORE ROOSEVELT IN CUBA



district surrendered, giving up their arms, and overjoyed because they were going home to Spain. There was a danger that could not have been found in any other country of even rank with the Cubans in civilization. It was that the armed Cuban insurgents were disposed to assail the unarmed Spanish prisoners and massacre them. There was like threatening at the same time in the Philippines. If this matter had become very serious in Eastern Cuba, the remedy would have been to return to the Spanish captives their arms. Colonel Roosevelt's theory that Havana might sustain a siege after the fall of Santiago, shows a trace of his comparative isolation and absorption in the active operations of war, for the Spaniards could not have hoped to hold Havana against the power of the United States. Spain was irreparably down, and there was not the slightest chance for her to find an ally anywhere in the world. However, if there had been a siege of Havana, we could not have undertaken it before December, and the place to restore an army to health was not on the highlands of Cuba, which were simply impossible; but on the alternately sandy and shady shores of Long Island; and we had nothing better to do with the fleet of transports than to send the sick boys to the pleasant places where they told the Colonel, who had done so much to give them first a fighting chance, and at last rest in airs that were a matchless restorative—told him when he asked them how they were doing, "This is Heaven."

The military episode of Colonel Roosevelt lasted less than a year, including the days of preparation for the strife and recuperation after it; but he had, by his genius for good works, his talent for doing things, and the greater force of getting others to do that which he saw was inevitable and indispensable—made four points, each with glory enough to go far. First, he foresaw, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the war, and dominated the Department to prepare for it, by finding the war boats, coal and powder, that the engineers might go to find the enemy at full speed of steam, and smash them, so that fire and water fought to finish them. Second, he raised a regiment that was unique in quality, composed of plainsmen, men of the West, representatives of North and South—the most mobile troopers and the best riflemen in the world—soldiers almost of incomparable mettle and quite unconquerable, a new element in warfare, with the swiftness of the Cossack, and the eye and hand for a rifle of the Boer. Third, such was his executive force and ceaseless effort, his initiative in enterprise, and audacity in pushing on through all the obstacles that confusion heaps in the paths of adventure and glory, that he landed his volunteers ahead of the Regulars, and headed the column that got the first baptism of blood. Fourth, last, not least, when the foe was vanquished on sea and land, the war over, he took the steps that were never before possible, using all the apparatus of modern invention and adaptation—the telegraph, the steamboat, the railroad, the cables under the seas, the

Associated Press—and lifted an army ready to perish from the jungles rank with fever, and wafted them to a land of health and plenty, saving thousands of precious lives. The people rejoiced in the man, commended and celebrated the hero, and elected him, when there was “peace with honor,” Governor of the State of New York.

CHAPTER X.

PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL EXPRESSIONS.

Kindly Views and Pleasant References—A Fighter, Not a Quarreler—Experiences as Governor of New York Intensely Interesting as He Tells Them—Some of His Vetoes—Sentences Good for Scrap-Books—Noble Passages from Orations—Method of Public Speaking.

THE controversies the President has had, and he has often been in a state of hostilities, have been the issue of public affairs. His father was best known for his benevolence, his charities, his constant interest in the poor; and the heart of the son has in it the same tenderness. However, he strikes hard at the sore places of those who have power and sell it to rob the people. His hatred of that sort of thing burns with perpetual ardor, but does not carry with it a vengeful personal temper. He forgives heartily the man he has thrust aside or knocked down. General MacArthur spoke officially of "the splendid ferocity" of his soldiers in a combat with the Filipinos, but he did not want any more Filipinos hurt than were sufficient to make them understand the race the little brown men called the "Big North Americans."

Roosevelt carries into public warfare this "ferocity," with like limitations, and his desire to see the "Big North Americans" win is a grand and ceaseless passion. We do not hear from Washington that there are personal enemies that the President desires to damage. There has been but a mere shadowy gossip, as to one case, and in that there have been personal considerations manifest and courtesies, showing that if there was an estrangement it was formal and on public account, and permitting personally of pleasing and not perfunctory civility.

We hear frequently of the President's friends, of his attachment to old hunters and soldiers. Perhaps there were altogether half a dozen cases of the Rough Rider regiment, who offended and were reprimanded, and with these exceptions, a thousand men are friends of the first class. Roosevelt knows the boys who were in the mud and thorn bushes of Santiago, as far as he sees them, and gives them a "view hello" that does them good, and the occasional encounters he has of the kind, yield him delight; and when he says, "By George, I am glad to see you," he means it and gives and takes pleasure.

Two Rough Riders hove in sight, in the midst of a glowing and rolling sea of people at Toledo, Ohio, as he was on the way from the far West "strenuous" tour, in the Presidential campaign of 1900. He saw afar the faces of the two shining welcome, and the procession, several miles long, had to stop while greetings were exchanged after the manner of plainsmen¹ and the mountaineers; and when the multitude were told "Teddy" was talking with some Santiago comrades, there were ninety-nine cheers for everybody.

An example of the good-fellowship of the President at a banquet, occurred when the Union League New York Club banqueted Ambassador Choate, February 17, 1899, and Governor Roosevelt made the quaint observation that "when our host spoke with such just eulogy of the Anglo-Saxon race, I could not help turning to Mr. Cockran and asking him, in our joint behalf, where the Dutch and Irish come in."

He said, too, that he knew when our Ambassador (Choate) was in England, he would remember "not only the facts that have been put before you in the magnificent oratory of Mr. Cockran to-night, but one other fact that Mr. Cockran forgot. Mr. Cockran did well," Mr. Roosevelt said, "to dwell upon the place that had been won by the great qualities of the English-speaking peoples; did well to dwell upon how much we have owed to the feats of the great captains of industry, to the feats of the men of letters, of the men of law. But the Ambassador will also remember how much has been owing to the men who carried the sword; and the Ambassador will go to England holding his head the higher, not only because he goes from a land that has won such triumphs of peace; not only because he goes from a land that has added to the reputation of the jurists of the world, because it has produced men like himself; that has added to the oratory of the world by the presence in it of men like yourself, Mr. Cockran; but he will go holding his head the higher because Dewey's guns thundered at Manila and the Spanish ships were sunk off Santiago Bay! All honor to the men of peace; and also all honor to the race that has shown that besides the men of peace, it can in time of need bring forth men who are mighty in battle, to better our state or social life, in effort to make our politics more honest, more straightforward, more representative of the best hope and thought of the community, in which you have been able to count upon the generous and disinterested assistance of Mr. Choate. I, myself, know well what I owe to Mr. Choate; and I know you will not think that I wander from our subject this evening when I say that I appreciate to the full the way in which both Mr. Choate and Mr. Root have helped me when I have needed to draw upon all that I could draw upon in the way of intelligence and disinterested interest in the public good. It is a peculiar pleasure to see a man who has served the State so disinterestedly, with such genuine ability and without the least idea of reward in the way of

office, chosen to fill one of the most honorable offices in the land, not because he has sought it (for it came to him before he had a chance to seek it) but because of the sentiment of the people that they wished at this time to be represented by one of those men who make all of us proud of being Americans. And we may well feel satisfied, not merely with having Mr. Choate as Ambassador, but with the political conditions which have rendered it possible, in choosing the man who should represent us to a country with which we have the closest and most intimate ties of blood and of friendship, to pay heed solely to the eminent fitness of the man himself, and to the worth of the spirit which he has so nobly represented."

Whatever appears in the failure of municipalities to have good government in New York, and however great the profligacy with which the affairs of cities are administered, the State is liberal in caring for and publishing the documents that are the official history of the State, now more populous and powerful, and far more prosperous, than were all the original States.

Theodore Roosevelt, when Governor of New York, presided over twice as many people as lived in the Union in the days of Washington, and took pains with these public papers. They are numerous, touching a surprising variety of subjects, and he estimated highly the thorough and perfect preservation of his record. There is much in his public papers that is pertinent; but the reasons given for the action of the Governor, or his refusal to act in many cases, bring us continually in contact with the Chief Executive of the State, and no question arose in association with which he had any duty to perform, that he did not take heartily in hand; and he strove, as a public officer has seldom striven, to ascertain the views of all the people, as to the course of his Administration, especially those he knew to be disinterested, save in the public good, and there never has been a Governor of New York, perhaps none of any of the States, who so laboriously called for information from all sources. His appointments of Commissions of Investigation were remarkable for the character of the men he summoned, and the ardor with which he inspired them to ascertain all the facts and to recommend action upon them, according to the evidence they were able to obtain. When he had been five months Governor, in a speech to the Civic Club, New York City, he made an appeal for help from those who could give it, for "good advice," saying he wished the people could understand how much he needed it, and how strongly he desired to be advised "on difficult bills," such as were continually coming to him from the Legislature.

In the work of providing for competent investigation, and getting advice from good citizens, irrespective of party, Governor Roosevelt was indefatigable. He made an extraordinarily close approach to coming to an understanding with the people. They had the immense advantage of knowing all the time exactly

what he wanted, he made no reservations; he was glad to get the whole truth, let it help or hurt whom it might. That is his political policy.

At the Lincoln Club Dinner, in New York City, February 13, 1899, Governor Roosevelt responded to the toast, "The State of New York." He opened by addressing "Mr. President, or at least, Mr. Senator for the present." He recalled that just one year before, three days before the Maine was blown up, he had spoken before the same club, and the year had given a chance "for America to win honor undying, through the soldiers by sea and land." He had a communication to make about a work of charity, for there seemed to be a stormy period right ahead, and there was a great shortage of food and coal, and he wanted all that could be done to relieve the distress in an organized way should be done, and he wanted the municipal authorities to know that the State authorities would do all they could to aid individual charitable efforts. He had gone, he said, a little outside his authority, and added, "If I need any backing, I know I can count on the Legislature for it." "If one sat beside the Senator," he said, "he was certain to meet some new issue," for "the Senator has the happiest of gifts, the capacity to say and to do the right thing at the right moment." As for himself, the Governor said, he had tried, so far as in him lay, to keep every promise made on the stump or off the stump, during or prior to the last campaign, which was when he was elected Governor, and to leave behind him all the divisions, if there were any, of the Republican party. The war the last year was one of the most righteous of modern times, and brought to a triumphant conclusion.

The Governor said:

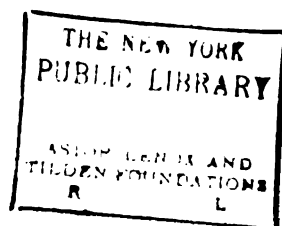
"I am glad to feel, when I am speaking to the Republican Club, that I can take for my text to-night the admirable speech delivered in the Senate of the United States by the Republican Senator from the State of New York, Senator Thomas C. Platt, in support of the ratification of the treaty—a speech admirable in temper and in tone, in which all of us as Republicans may take pride; a speech, also, which set forth in the broadest spirit the reasons why all patriotic Americans should desire the ratification of the treaty, no matter what their views might be as to the question of expansion in the abstract. But, indeed, in this matter, while we must shape our national course as a whole in accordance with a well settled policy, we must meet such an exigency as it arises in a spirit of wise patriotism. No sensible man will advocate our plunging rashly into a course of international knight errantry; none will advocate our setting deliberately to work to build up a great colonial empire. But neither will any brave and patriotic man bid us shrink from doing our duty merely because this duty involves the certainty of strenuous effort and the possibility of danger. Some men of high reputation, from high motives, have opposed the ratification of the treaty just as they had previously opposed the war; just as some other



1. PRESIDING JUDGE PARKER, Court of Appeals
2. GOVERNOR ODELL

3. LIEUT. GOV. WOODRUFF
4. VICE-PRESIDENT ELECT THEODORE ROOSEVELT

NEW YORK'S FAREWELL TO GOV. ROOSEVELT, DINNER GIVEN AT THE FORT ORANGE CLUB,
ALBANY, NEW YEAR'S EVE, 1900



men whose motives were equally high in 1861 opposed any effort to restore the Union by force of arms. The error was almost as great in one case as in the other, and will be so adjudged by history. But back of the high motives of these men lay the two great impulses—the impulses now in 1899 as in 1861—the impulses of sloth and fear; and well it was for us that the Administration and the Senate disregarded them.”

There is a class of Republicans in New York who condemn any man who is in friendly relation with Senator Platt; but Roosevelt was never that kind of a Republican, for he knew Mr. Platt's ability and amiability, and opposed the creed that it was immoral not to tear the party to pieces whenever the Senator's name was mentioned. The President never, or hardly ever, more clearly, specifically and defiantly defined his position as a party man, and the inside way of going with the party, than in responding to the toast, “The State of New York,” at the State Bar Association banquet, on the 8th of January, 1899. Governor Roosevelt said to the President, who stated he believed Roosevelt would be a good Governor, “Now I intend to try. But the measure of my success is going to largely depend upon the support that I get from just such men as I see before me to-night. I am a loyal party man, but I believe very firmly that I can best render aid to my party by doing all that in me lies to make that party responsive to the needs of the State, responsive to the needs of the people, and just so far as I work along those lines, I have the right to challenge the support of every decent man, no matter what his party may be. It is not an easy thing, when you come down to the practical reality, to work for the best; it is a good deal easier to sit at home in one's parlor and decide what the best is, than to get out in the field and try to win it. When one is in the midst of the strife, with the dust and the blood, and the rough handling, and is receiving blows, and if he is worth anything, is returning them, it is difficult always to see perfectly straight in the direction the right lies.”

There is something almost pathetic in this statement the strong man makes of the difficulty of overcoming the obstacles in his path. He goes on with wise words, explaining that to accomplish much, is after all by gradual approaches. He adds:

“Perhaps we must always advance a little by zig-zags; only we must always advance; and the zig-zags should go toward the right goal. One thing I believe that we are realizing more and more, and that is the valuelessness of mere virtue that does not take a tangible and efficient shape. I do not give the snap of my finger for a very good man who possesses that peculiar kind of goodness that benefits only himself, in his own home. I think we all understand more and more that the virtue that is worth having is the virtue that can sustain the rough shock of actual living; the virtue that can achieve practical results, that finds expression in actual life. There may be a more

objectionable class in the community than the timid good, but I do not know it. I earnestly hope that all of you here will thoroughly appreciate what you now know in the abstract, but what we none of us realize entirely in practice, that here in this government it is not the public officials that really govern, it is the people themselves. It is the people who must make their ideals take tangible shape."

Those who have undertaken controversy with Theodore Roosevelt, whether as member of the Legislature, Police or Civil Service Reform Commissioner, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Governor of New York, or President of the United States, found him a well armed man, never surprised, always equipped. What he said and did when Governor is matter of uncommon interest to the people of the United States. There is no question that his Administration as President will be like that of the Gubernatorial office. His earnestness in seeking the wish of the people, his energy in conforming to their will, his comprehensive enlightenment as to that which is his duty to know in all the Departments, his prompt and even peremptory methods of hastening business, by taking speedy action upon sufficient testimony, will if justly esteemed and cordially co-operated with, aid enormously the usefulness of his office in promotion of the general welfare of the people. And there is nothing that will, in a greater degree declare the principle and the policy of that which is to come than the study of that which has come to pass.

It has been said of several of our Presidents, and notably of President McKinley, that he grew in office, that he gathered strength for the performance of duty in proportion to the elevation of it and the gravity of responsibility it was necessary for him to accept as pertaining to himself, and that he was spurred by the exigencies upon him, in war and in peace, and the command that it was a requirement he should have of the affairs of other Nations and the devotion it was essential he should give in promoting the prosperity of the people at home.

Like language applies exactly to President Roosevelt.

No Governor ever gave more careful attention to the bills he vetoed than Governor Roosevelt did, and when he offered a recommendation, he covered the whole field. A fine example of his solicitude for the welfare and all the rights of the people is found in his message relative to rapid transit in the City of New York.

"State of New York, Executive Chamber,
"Albany, April 21, 1899.

"To the Legislature:

"There is now before your body a measure looking toward the securing of rapid transit for the City of New York. I deem it of very great importance that a scheme providing for rapid transit in the city should be passed at the

earliest practicable moment. But it is even more important that this scheme should be one which will work for the ultimate benefit of the city. It does not seem to me wise that a franchise of this nature should be given in perpetuity. It would, of course, be best to have it owned by the municipality; although I would point out to the advocates of municipal ownership that it is doubly incumbent upon them to take the most efficient means of rebuking municipal corruption and of insisting upon a high standard of continuous fidelity to duty among municipal employees. Only if the government of this municipality is honest will it be possible ever to justify fully the workings of municipal ownership.

"While, however, giving full weight to these considerations, it yet seems unquestionable that if this measure can be undertaken by the municipality, it should be so undertaken. But if the measure must be undertaken by a private company, then the bill should be so framed as to throw open the competition to all responsible bidders, and the franchise should not, in my opinion, be given for more than fifty years, then to be revalued by arbitrators or by the Supreme Court; the franchise to be thereafter continued for terms of twenty-five years, unless the city desires to take the road at the valuation agreed on.

"We are most fortunate in having as Commissioners under the present rapid transit act, men of the highest character and standing, in whose judgment the city has the utmost confidence. I believe that it is safe to give these Commissioners a very large liberty in dealing with the rapid transit plan. Nevertheless, in my judgment, certain broad lines should be laid down within which they are to work. What the value of this franchise may be fifty years hence, no one can tell; and while, in the view of the formidable difficulties of the undertaking, full provision should be made for ample reward to the private capitalists who go into the scheme, if it is deemed advisable to have it undertaken by private capital, yet the franchise should not be given in perpetuity, and provisions should be made to remunerate the city if the franchise turns out to possess exceptional capital."

Governor Roosevelt was severe upon those he knew were politicians for personal profit, not merely careless as to the public good, but engaged as an occupation in corruption, and was fiery with zeal for the betterment of the Civil Service, by taking it, so far as was practicable, out of politics. With all his feeling against the commercial features of the functions of Government, he was not of the professional independents who dwell so nigh the frontiers of the organizations of partizans, that are arrayed in hostile lines and seeking majorities of the people for the sake of patronage, that they gained superior facilities for changing sides, and, indeed, dwelt in ambuscade that they might mingle the offices of warfare with peace proclamations, and refine finesse into prevarication. The Governor was gracious to opponents, who seemed to enjoy

actual convictions, and sweet as summer in friendliness. He was not held by elocutionists to be an orator, in the sense of speaking melodiously, with cadenced utterances, the sentences swinging like children who teeter over a log, or the wood cutters who rise and fall with a cross-cut saw, that sings with the strokes, but he said what he had to say so there was no mistake about it.

The objection held hard against Roosevelt, by those whose virtues are chiefly heard of in their oratory, is that he was not a Mugwump, when there was a vanity so called, but a workingman in public business.

Speaking before the Y. M. C. A. in New York, the Governor said:

"To break the Tenth Commandment is no more moral now than it has been for the past thirty centuries. The vice of envy is not only a dangerous but also a mean vice, for it is always a confession of inferiority. It may provoke conduct which will be fruitful of wrong to others; and it must cause misery to the man who feels it. It will not be any the less fruitful of wrong and misery if, as is so often the case with evil motives, it adopts some high sounding alias. The truth is, gentlemen, that each one of us has in him certain passions and instincts which if they gain the upper hand in his soul would mean that the wild beast had come uppermost in him. Envy, malice and hatred are such passions, and they are just as bad if directed against a class or group of men as if directed against an individual.

"What we need in our leaders and teachers is help in suppressing such feelings, help in arousing and directing the feelings that are their extreme opposites. Woe to us as a nation if we ever follow the lead of men who seek not to smother but to inflame the wild beast qualities of the human heart."

The Governor filed a memorandum with the Assembly, approving the Act to make effective the eight-hour law, stating that the passage of the Amendment was evident, as the existing law was so easy of evasion, it was largely inoperative. The general tendency, the Governor said, toward an eight-hour working day law, had undoubtedly been healthful, and was wise for the State to set a good example as an employer of labor, both as to the number of hours of labor exacted, and to paying a just and reasonable wage.

The Governor vetoed a bill for the erection of a bridge, and developing the power of the Niagara river at Buffalo, saying:

"The bill has on its face an entirely praiseworthy object, that is to say, the promotion of an experiment to see whether the waters of the Niagara river can not be used to give a vast power system for the benefit of the city of Buffalo. But the bill is so drawn as to make it likely that it provides for the erection of a bridge across the Niagara river, wholly without reference to whether the attempt to introduce the power system is a failure or not. The language of the bill is such that the bridge across the river could apparently be built even though the preliminary power bridge span was considered a failure

by the State Engineer. At any rate, the State by this bill, if enacted into law, would at once surrender the right to object to any such bridge, whether the power bridge span did or did not prove a failure, and whether the State authorities did or did not regard the new project as a menace to navigation. Unquestionably the National Government would still have the power to take into account the question of navigation under proper safe-guards; but it would, in my judgment, be wise for the State also to retain control of the matter."

The Governor vetoed a bill relative to the adulteration of beer, on the ground that the bill provided "that in addition to the fine of one hundred dollars for violating the provision of the Public Health Law against adulterations, it shall be permissible to add imprisonment in the county jail for three months. This would make it possible to inflict a far severer penalty upon a man who should adulterate beer than upon the man who, for instance, should violate Section 41, sub-div. B 5 of the Public Health Law by selling food composed of diseased or decomposed or putrid or rotten animal or vegetable substance. It is obviously absurd to provide a heavier penalty for the adulteration of beer than for using putrid and rotten animal substances in adulterating food."

The President's way of preparing for public speaking is to write notes. They are for the survey of the lines of thought and to hold the scope of illustration confined to specialties, and, above all, the better words and phrases by forming them, not striving for word-perfect memory, but to map out the country to be traversed, arrange the signal stations. During his Vice-Presidency, his mind was in a glow, and his series of orations, from the one at the opening of the Pan-American Exposition to that at Minneapolis are the richest output of his life. The Buffalo oration was on "The Two Americas." "Manhood and Statehood" was spoken at Colorado Springs on the quarter centennial celebration of Statehood. "Brotherhood and the Heroic Virtues" at Burlington, Vermont, before the Veterans' Reunion; "National Duties" the Minneapolis oration, September 2nd. The titles are all of felicity. There is a noble range of subjects, and the noblest of them in title and matter is the "Manhood and Statehood" at Colorado Springs.

Perhaps there have been other utterances exceeding any one of the four we have named, but no orator has in one summer made four addresses, the equivalent of Roosevelt's stately quadrilateral. We can give only some of the material of the structure. World politics, said the orator at Buffalo, meant European politics only a century ago, and:

"All that is now changed, not merely by what has happened here in America, but by what has happened elsewhere. It is not necessary for us here to consider the giant changes which have come elsewhere in the globe; to treat of the rise in the South Seas of the great free commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand; of the way in which Japan has been rejuvenated and has advanced by

leaps and bounds to a position among the leading civilized powers; of the problems, affecting the major portion of mankind, which call imperiously for solution in parts of the Old World which, a century ago, were barely known to Europe, even by rumor. Our present concern is not with the Old World, but with our own western hemisphere, America.

"We all look forward to the day when there shall be a nearer approximation than there has ever yet been to the brotherhood of man and the peace of the world. More and more we are learning that to love one's country above all others is in no way incompatible with respecting and wishing well to all others, and that, as between man and man, so between nation and nation, there should live the great law of right. These are the goals toward which we strive; and let us at least earnestly endeavor to realize them here on this continent. From Hudson's Bay to the Strait of Magellan, we, the men of the two Americas, have been conquering the wilderness, carving it into State and Province, and seeking to build up in State and Province Governments which shall combine industrial prosperity and moral well-being. Let us ever most vividly remember the falsity of the belief that any one of us is to be permanently benefited by the hurt of another.

"Let us strive to have our public men treat as axiomatic the truth that it is for the interest of every commonwealth in the western hemisphere to see every other commonwealth grow in riches and in happiness, in material wealth and in the sober, strong, self-respecting manliness, without which material wealth avails so little.

"To-day on behalf of the United States I welcome you here—you, our brothers of the North, and you, our brothers of the South; we wish you well; we wish you all prosperity; and we say to you that we earnestly hope for your well-being, not only for your own sakes, but also for our own, for it is a benefit to each of us to have the others do well. I believe with all my heart in the Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine is not to be invoked for the aggrandizement of any one of us here on this continent at the expense of any one else on this continent. It should be regarded simply as a great international Pan-American policy, vital to the interests of all of us. The United States has, and ought to have, and must ever have, only the desire to see her sister commonwealths in the western hemisphere continue to flourish, and the determination that no Old World power shall acquire new territory here on this western continent.

"The tremendous industrial development of the Nineteenth Century has not only conferred great benefits upon us of the Twentieth, but it has also exposed us to grave dangers. This highly complex movement has had many sides, some good and some bad, and has produced an absolutely novel set of phenomena. To secure from them the best results will tax to the utmost the resources of the statesman, the economist, and the social reformer.

"The true welfare of the nation is indissolubly bound up with the welfare of the farmer and the wage-worker; of the man who tills the soil, and of the mechanic, the handicraftsman, the laborer. The poorest motto upon which an American can act is the motto of "some men down," and the safest to follow is that of "all men up." A good deal can and ought to be done by law. For instance, the State and, if necessary, the Nation should by law assume ample power of supervising and regulating the acts of any corporation (which can be but its creatures), and generally of those immense business enterprises which exist only because of the safety and protection to property guaranteed by our system of Government. Yet it is equally true that, while this power should exist, it should be used sparingly and with self-restraint. Modern industrial competition is very keen between nation and nation, and now that our country is striding forward with the pace of a giant to take the leading position in the international industrial world, we should beware how we fetter our limbs, how we cramp our Titan strength. Here in this exposition, on the stadium and on the pylons of the bridge, you have written certain sentences to which we must live up to if we are in any way or measure to do our duty: 'Who shuns the dust and sweat of the contest, on his brow falls not the cool shade of the olive,' and 'A free state exists only in the virtue of the citizen.' We all accept these statements in theory; but if we do not live up to them in practice, then there is no health in us. Take the two together always. In our eager, restless life of effort, but little can be done by that cloistered virtue of which Milton spoke with such fine contempt. We need the rough, strong qualities that make a man fit to play his part well among men. Yet we need to remember even more that no ability, no strength and force, no power of intellect or power of wealth, shall avail us, if we have not the root of right living in us."

In his Vermont Veterans' Union oration, Colonel Roosevelt spoke especially to "members of the Grand Army, which saved the Union." He said:

"Other men by their lives or their deaths have kept unstained our honor, have wrought marvels for our interest, have led us forward to triumph, or warded off disaster from us; other men have marshaled our ranks upward across the stony slopes of greatness. But you did more, for you saved us from annihilation. We can feel proud of what others did only because of what you did. It was given to you, when the mighty days came, to do the mighty deeds, for which the days called, and if your deeds had been left undone, all that had been already accomplished would have turned into apples of Sodom under our teeth. The glory of Washington and the majesty of Marshall would have crumbled into meaningless dust if you and your comrades had not buttressed their work with your strength of steel, your courage of fire. The Declaration of Independence would now sound like a windy platitude, the Con-

stitution of the United States would ring as false as if drawn by the Abbe Sieyes in the days of the French Terror, if your stern valor had not proved the truth of the one and made good the promise of the other. In our history there have been other victorious struggles for right, on the field of battle and in civic strife. To have failed in these other struggles would have meant bitter shame and grievous loss. But you fought in the one struggle where failure meant death and destruction to our people; meant that our whole past history would be crossed out of the records of successful endeavor with the red and black lines of failure; meant that not one man in all this wide country would now be holding his head upright as a free citizen of a mighty and glorious republic.

"All this you did, and therefore you are entitled to the homage of all men who have not forgotten in their blindness either the awful nature of the crisis, or the worth of priceless service rendered in the hour of direst need.

"You have left us the right of brotherhood with the gallant men who wore the gray in the ranks against which you are pitted. At the opening of this new Century, all of us, the children of a reunited country, have a right to glory in the countless deeds of valor done alike by the men of the North and the men of the South. We can retain an ever-growing sense of the all-importance, not merely to our people but to mankind, of the Union victory, while giving the freest and heartiest recognition to the sincerity and self-devotion of those Americans, our fellow-countrymen, who then fought against the stars in their courses. Now there is none left, North or South, who does not take joy and pride in the Union; and when three years ago we once more had to face a foreign enemy, the heart of every true American thrilled with pride to see veterans who had fought in the Confederate uniform once more appear under Uncle Sam's colors, side by side with their former foes, and leading to victory under the famous old flag the sons both of those who had worn the blue and of those who had worn the gray."

Mr. Roosevelt's Minneapolis speech, September 5th, has, from its co-incidences and associations, become so thoroughly known that space can be filled with coin from the same mint that has not been worn by circulation.

CHAPTER XI.

SEEN IN HIS STUDIES AND IDEALS.

Reflections of Himself in Writings and His Heroes—He Gives His Confidences in Glowing Pages—Washington, Lincoln and Grant, Three Pre-eminently Great Men—Aspirations Revealed in His Laudations—He Corrects a First Impression—Loves Cowboys, but "There Are Others"—How He Became a Remote Ranchman—Anecdotes of Bravery and Generous Deeds.

IN studying the character of President Roosevelt, we must pursue his course of study, for in it was developed his character. As a boy he was instructed by his father to develop himself, and arrived at Harvard a youth with striking outlines of originality. He had an early glimpse of the beauties and wonders of botany, and felt it was worthy the devotion of his life; but as he cultivated himself, a self-made man, so that he felt the stir of energies and joy of labor and strife, he had a passion for athletic exercise, and to go afield and be a hunter. He turned from botany to mathematics, and reached the highest grade of measurement. He hastened to be a while in the Old World. The charm of antiquity enveloped him, and he saw the heart of Europe, illustrating the force of his aspirations by climbing the most difficult and dangerous mountains in Switzerland. Instead of lingering abroad, he hurried home, and took a "header" into politics. He comprehended that it was a glorious thing to be an American. He gained better knowledge of Europe with his own eyes, than he could get from books. He was attracted to public life, and his hand to hand combat with the spoilers in the Legislature, followed by the broader field offered in the National Republican Convention, gave him, at the age of twenty-six, a national reputation.

Though Chairman of the Delegation of New York, he could not cast the solid vote of the State. It was the sticking point of reform in those days that the vote of the State need not be solid; that it was rather a reproach upon a delegation to vote all the time solid. The reformer developed individuality rather than unity. The vote of New York at this time was divided, and the roll was repeatedly called, that each delegate might "toe" his own mark and "show his hand;" that is, both the feet on which he stood and the hands he played. In this situation, the young Chairman's name was prominent in the

record. His terms in the Assembly of his State had given him conspicuity as a hard hitter.

The spot where there was great need of a fighting champion of the people was New York City, and the young Assemblyman resolved to undertake the task, was nominated for Mayor; and ran on the regular Republican ticket. The candidates were Hewitt, Henry George and Roosevelt. A heavy vote the latter might have received, was thrown successfully to Hewitt to beat George. All the candidates were honorable men, but George's land theories caused alarm.

The mother and wife of Roosevelt died, and he withdrew from the accustomed turmoil of the metropolis. He preferred the changes of scenery and diversity of associations encountered in the wilderness. Here he became a Rough Rider, meaning in his case an accomplished horseman, and a mighty hunter for the game the wildest country on the continent afforded. The buffalo no longer roamed in great herds over the succulent but hardy grass named for the ponderous animal; but there were herds of stately elk and the delightful deer—that got their name in Virginia, and were almost co-extensive with the soil that produces Indian corn—the bounding antelope, that outmatches the “gay gazelles on Judah's hills,” the goat that is white as snow, and at home on the snowy peaks; the mountain lions, the fierce cougars, the gaunt gray wolves and the coyotes—the smaller mischief maker of the prairies—and above all, the bears of all shades, from the giant grizzly to the darker, smaller and milder editions of the same beast.

Columbus did not discover for him a newer world when he struck Cuba and had faith it was Cipango, than Roosevelt found in Ranchland. Deep in the American mountains most remote from the Atlantic, the sources of the Nile of the Hemisphere called Western before the world was rounded in human experience, he found the people most truly American, the expanders of our frontiers and embodiments of our typical countrymen, answering to the vital air and the fertile land, the vast rivers and broad horizons, from which come the bone and sinew, the strength and spirit of the men who have assimilated the best blood of the Old World; and the “let independence be your boast”—men who are the advance guard of our Manifest Destiny.

It was the New World of the Great Nation of the Greater America of the more modern Hemisphere—the American Nation that has outgrown all other Nations, and fronted on the two oceans—the Atlantic, looking toward Europe, and on the Pacific meeting Asia face to face—just at the time when our great States found it was better to be of a great than a small “Empire for Liberty,” and when the transcontinental railroads defined the road to Asia, and prepared for the canal across the American isthmus, that in return is to guide the trade and travel, the broad wings of commerce and the roads of steel, surrounding

the globe in the tropics, realizing the prophecy of the ever westward emigration and the trade winds.

It was at this epoch that Theodore Roosevelt expanded his ideas of the Americans of America, and in their atmosphere finished the schooling for his great hereafter, leaving, though, to the last the final touch of the actualities of war. He was suddenly initiated into the life of the land of the coming time, and in tone with the people. The man of the metropolis and the university, the representative of an old and cultivated family, with a name the pride of the Knickerbockers, and the society of the affluent, scored the point that the least tender-footed of all men was the one who in his youth had seen other lands and people than this, and with the arts of science softened the rudeness of the strong; and the traveled and scholastic author paid this tribute to the cowboys, who were natural to the Cattle Country, but had not been native, because they hadn't had the time out there. He said:

"Everywhere among these plainsmen and mountain-men, and more important than any, are the cowboys—the men who follow the calling that has brought such towns into being. Singly, or in twos and threes, they gallop their wiry little horses down the street, their lithe, supple figures erect or swaying slightly as they sit loosely in the saddle; while their stirrups are so long that their knees are hardly bent, the bridles not taut enough to keep the chains from clanking. They are smaller and less muscular than the wielders of ax and pick, but they are as hardy and self-reliant as any men who ever breathed—with bronzed, set faces, and keen eyes that look all the world straight in the face without flinching as they flash out from under the broad-brimmed hats. Peril and hardship, and years of long toil broken by weeks of brutal dissipation, draw haggard lines across their eager faces, but never dim their reckless eyes nor break their bearing of defiant self-confidence. They do not walk well, partly because they so rarely do any work out of the saddle, partly because their chaperajos, or leather overalls, hamper them when on the ground; but their appearance is striking for all that, and picturesque, too, with their jingling spurs, the big revolvers stuck in their belts, and bright silk handkerchiefs knotted loosely round their necks over the open collars of their flannel shirts."

There is a refined wisdom about this that is rare in those who count their years in the early forties, and one goes on to read his estimation of great men with a curious stimulation of interest. A young man who assigns himself to his place and tells how he grew as a tree, and put forth new leaves in their season, has given vouchers that he can draw likenesses and evolution other than his own, with a lead pencil. Governor Roosevelt, April 27, 1900, in his address at the Grant Anniversary, Galena, Illinois, names the three great men of all time in our country, as he sees and sketches.

"As the generations slip away, as the dust of conflict settles, and as through the clearing air we look back with keener wisdom into the Nation's past, mightiest among the mighty dead loom the three great figures of Washington, Lincoln and Grant. There are great men also in the second rank; for in my gallery of merely national heroes, Franklin and Hamilton, Jefferson and Jackson would surely have their place. But these three greatest men have taken their place among the great men of all Nations, the great men of all time. They stood supreme in the two great crises of our history, on the two great occasions when we stood in the van of all humanity and struck the most effective blows that have ever been struck for the cause of human freedom under the law; for that spirit of orderly liberty which must stand at the base of every wise movement to secure to each man his rights, and to guard each from being wronged by his fellows.

"Washington fought in the earlier struggle, and it was his good fortune to win the highest renown alike as soldier and statesman. In the second and even greater struggle, the deeds of Lincoln, the statesman, were made good by those of Grant, the soldier, and later Grant himself took up the work that dropped from Lincoln's tired hands when the assassin's bullet went home, and the sad, patient, kindly eyes were closed forever.

"It was no mere accident that made our three mightiest men, two of them soldiers and one the great war President. It is only through work and strife that either Nation or individual moves on to greatness. The great man is always the man of mighty effort, and usually the man whom grinding need has trained to mighty effort. Rest and peace are good things, are great blessings, but only if they come honorably; and it is those who fearlessly turned away from them when they have not been earned, who in the long run deserve the best of their country. In the sweat of our brows do we eat bread, and though the sweat is bitter at times, yet in the long run it is far more bitter to eat of the bread that is unearned, unwon, undeserved. America must nerve herself for labor and peril. The men who have made our national greatness are those who faced danger and overcame it, who met difficulties and surmounted them, not those whose paths were cast in such pleasant places that toil and dread were ever far from them. Neither was it an accident that our three leaders were men who, while they did not shrink from war, were nevertheless heartily men of peace.

"So it was with the Civil War. If the four iron years had not been followed by peace, they would not have been justified. If the Great Silent Soldier, the Hammer of the North, had struck the shackles off the slave only, as so many conquerors in civil strife before him have done, to rivet them around the wrists of freemen, then the war would have been fought in vain, and worse than in vain. If the Union which so many men shed their blood to restore, were not

now a Union in fact, then the precious blood would have been wasted. But it was not wasted; for the work of peace has made good the work of war, and North and South, East and West, are one people in fact as well as in name; one in purpose, in fellow-feeling and in high resolve, as we stand to greet the new century."

In an address which was a character study of General Grant, Governor Roosevelt gave an interesting account of a change of opinion in a relation that has indelibly colored his life and being. He tells with as sharp analysis as if he was writing of another person how he had been taught not to love cowboys less, but other human creatures more. And he appears to have regarded the plainsman as an incomparable creature, and thus explains how he kept his first love of the rude and tameless rough rider on his pedestal, but let him down from premiership by the elevation of other products by humanity under American conditions.

"The first time I ever labored alongside and got thrown into intimate companionship with men who were mighty men of their land, was in the cattle country of the Northwest. I soon grew to have an immense liking and respect for my associates; and as I knew them, and did not know similar workers in other parts of the country, it seemed to me then the ranch owner was a great deal better than any Eastern business man, and that the cow puncher stood on a corresponding altitude compared to any of his brethren in the East.

"Well, after a little while I got thrown into close relations with the farmers, and it did not take long before I had moved them up alongside of my beloved cowmen, and made up my mind that they really formed the backbone of the land. Then, because of circumstances, I was thrown into intimate contact with railroad men; and I gradually came to the conclusion that these railroad men were about the finest citizens there were anywhere around. Then, in the course of some official work, I was thrown into close contact with a number of the carpenters, blacksmiths and men in the building trades—that is, skilled mechanics of high order—and it was not long before I had them on the same pedestal with the others. By that time it began to dawn on me that the difference was not in the men but in my own point of view, and that if any man is thrown into close contact with any large body of our fellow-citizens, it is apt to be the man's own fault if he does not grow to feel for them a very hearty regard and, moreover, grow to understand that on the great questions that lie at the root of human well-being, he and they feel alike." He continued:

"I shall ask attention not to Grant's life, but to the lessons taught by that life as we of to-day should learn them. Foremost of all, the lessons of tenacity, of stubborn fixity of purpose. In the Union armies there were generals as brilliant as Grant, but none with his iron determination. This quality he showed as President no less than as general. He was no more to be influenced

by a hostile majority in Congress into abandoning his attitude in favor of a sound and stable currency, than he was to be influenced by a check or repulse into releasing his grip on beleaguered Richmond. It is this element of unshakable strength to which we are apt specially to allude when we praise a man in the simplest and most effective way, by praising him as a man. It is the one quality which we can least afford to lose. It is the only quality, the lack of which is as unpardonable in the Nation as in the man. It is the antithesis of levity, fickleness, volatility, of undue exaltation, of undue depression, of hysteria and neuroticism in all their myriad forms.

"There are not a few public men, not a few men who try to mould opinion within Congress and without, on the stump and in the daily press, who seem to aim at instability, who pander to and thereby increase the thirst for over-statement of each situation as it arises, whose effort is, accordingly, to make the people move in zig-zags instead of in a straight line. We all saw this in the Spanish War, when the very men who at one time branded as traitors everybody who said there was anything wrong in the army, at another time branded as traitors everybody who said there was anything right.

"As the ages have rolled by the eternal problem forever fronting each man and each race, forever shifts its outward shape; and yet at the bottom it is always the same. There are dangers of peace and dangers of war; dangers of excess in militarism and of excess by the avoidance of duty that implies militarism; dangers of slow dry rot and dangers which become acute only in great crises. When these crises come the Nation will triumph or sink accordingly as it produces or fails to produce statesmen like Lincoln and soldiers like Grant, and accordingly as it does or does not back them up in their efforts. We do not need men of unsteady brilliancy or erratic power—unbalanced men. The men we need are the men of strong, earnest, solid character—the men who possess the homely virtues, and who to these virtues add rugged courage, rugged honesty and high resolve. Grant, with his self-poise, his self-command, his self-mastery; Grant, who loved peace and did not fear war.

"Grant was not originally an abolitionist and he probably could not have defined his views as to State sovereignty; but when the Civil War was on, he saw that the only thing to do was to fight it to a finish and establish by force of arms and constitutional right to put down rebellion. It is just the same thing nowadays with expansion. It has come, and it has come to stay, whether we wish it or not. Certain duties have fallen to us as a legacy of the war with Spain, and we cannot avoid performing them. All we can decide is whether we will perform them well or ill. We can not leave the Philippines. We have got to stay there, establish order and then give the inhabitants as much self-government as they show they can use to advantage. We can not run away if we

would. We have got to see the work through, because we are not a Nation of weaklings. We are strong men, and we intend to do our duty.

"Washington did not promise the people of this country what the leaders of the French revolution promised in 1789-90-91-92. They promised everything. They promised that every man should be absolutely happy. Washington promised only what he could perform. He promised honesty and common sense. He promised that he would take part in forming a government in which there would be prosperity, not for all men, whether they were intellectual or not, whether they were lazy or not, whether they were thrifty or not, but that there should be prosperity as a whole for the man who was honest, who was thrifty, who was hardworking, and who knew how to handle himself, and his promises were made good.

"Washington has won a deathless place in the annals of the best and wisest of mankind. He stands as the greatest of good men, and as the best of great men, because he did not play the part merely of the cloistered philosopher, but strove to achieve results; because he did the best he could with the means at hand, because he ever fixed his eye on the distant goal, and yet did not overlook the obstacles that lay between. He fixed his eyes on the stars, but fixing them there, did not forget to look where his feet trod."

In nothing that Roosevelt has written does he so perfectly reveal himself as in the golden sentences in which he gives his thoughts, bright and clean cut from the mint, and vividly sketches his ideals, or denounces that which is hateful to him. For example:

"If there be an even more obnoxious member of the body politic than the honest timid man, it is the dishonest man who has courage, for his courage simply makes him a more dangerous wild beast in the community. One of the things that it always grieves me most to hear from the lips of any American is that deification of what we call smartness, the deification of cunning, and craft which has been divorced from scruple.

"The man who is successful in politics at the cost of abandoning the very principles which we hold dear—that man does not merely damage that he has done by his own career, which may be but trifling; he does infinitely more. He lowers the standards of thousands of young men, of tens of thousands who are not able to see clearly, and who are blinded by the fact that he has succeeded to the further fact that his success was not worth having from any true standpoint.

"If you get together and ask for reform as if it was a concrete substance like cake, you are not going to get it. If you think you have performed your duty by coming together once in a public hall about three weeks before election and advocating something that you know perfectly well it is impossible to get, you are going to be fooled.

"Men in public life are what the men in private life make them. We must in the long run represent what is best and what is worst in you. You complain of bad city government. It is ultimately the fault of the people themselves if it is bad. No American can shake off the burden.

"In no way can you bring about decency in your Government so quickly as by backing up the men who represent your interests, rewarding those who are faithful and punishing those who fail in their duty. Besides these there is another class—the public-spirited citizens—who, without holding office, give of their time to aid the servants of the public.

"You can't govern yourselves by sitting in your studies and thinking how good you are. You've got to fight all you know how, and you'll find a lot of able men willing to fight you. Sometimes one of these people, who feel that they should do something to raise the country's political standard, goes to a primary and finds a raft of men who have been to many primaries. He discovers that he counts for nothing. Then, if he is of the type of men unfit for self-government he says politics are low, and goes home. If he is worth his salt he goes again, loses; goes again, maybe wins; and finally finds that he counts.

"You want to hitch your wagon to a star; but always to remember your limitations. Strive upward but realize that your feet must touch the ground. In our Government you can only work successfully in conjunction with your fellows. Don't let practical politics mean foul politics.

"I despise a man who surrenders his conscience to the multitude as much as I do the one who surrenders it to one man. If he believes the multitude is wrong on a question of policy or finance, he should not bow to it. It is not the men in office who make public life. It is the men out of office who are the arbiters of our public life. It rests on every man here, on every man in the city, on every man in the State and Nation, to make public life high."

"If it had not been for Roosevelt," said Senator Cushman K. Davis, late Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, "we should not have been able to strike the blow we did at Manila. It needed just Roosevelt's energy and promptness."

Col. Roosevelt called it "sharpening the tools for the navy;" and when they were sharpened, and the American flag was firmly planted on Cavite, he resigned. "There is nothing more for me to do here," he said. "I've got to get into the fight myself."

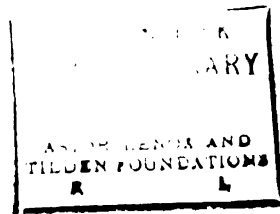
There is a late good story of the President. He was beset by a peace man by profession, who feared there would be a war. "What," said the President, "a war, and I cooped up in the White House?"

There are two newspaper stories about the courage of the President, and his appreciation of it in others.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S STUDY IN HIS HOME AT OYSTER BAY--IN THIS ROOM MUCH
OF HIS LITERARY WORK HAS BEEN DONE

From a photograph by Lazarnick, New York



I talked with a number of officers and troopers in Mr. Roosevelt's regiment while they were camped at Montauk Point, and I found their admiration for their colonel to be boundless. Every man of them had something interesting to tell about him.

"Why, he knows every man in the regiment by name," said one.

"He spent \$5,000 of his own money at Santiago to give us better food and medicine."

"You ought to have seen him talk when some of our fellows weren't treated well in the hospital."

A young lieutenant told an incident of a night in the trenches, which well illustrates by what means Mr. Roosevelt held his power over his men. It was the night of the Spanish sortie on the captured trenches. The Rough Riders had lain, sweltering by day and shivering by night, for forty-eight hours, in a mud ditch with little sleep and little food. During nearly all of this time Mauser bullets sang over their heads. At the hour of the early morning, when men are cowards, if they ever are, the fusillade increased suddenly, and the Spaniards appeared in a dense, dark line at the top of the hill. For a moment the men in the trenches stirred restlessly, and then they saw Colonel Roosevelt walking calmly along the top of the entrenchment with a faded blue handkerchief flapping from the back of his hat, wholly unmindful of the bullets which hummed around him like a hive of bees. A cheer went up and calls for the colonel to come down, and that was the end of the restlessness. "It was the bravest thing I ever saw in my life," said the cowboy lieutenant.

A lank, red-headed Irish patrolman, named Duggan, saw a burglar one night, on Park Avenue, near Seventieth Street, making off with a bundle of silverware. He gave chase. The burglar threw away the bundle, and jumped the fence that surrounds the cavernous ventilating holes of the New York Central Railroad tunnel. Duggan followed him. The burglar ran to one of the holes, hesitated, and jumped a sheer twenty feet to the tracks below, regardless of the danger of being crushed by passing trains. Without a moment's consideration, Duggan sprang after him, landed on him and dragged him out by the collar. When the president of the Police Board heard of that, he straightway sent for Duggan, and heard the story from his own lips, and when Duggan went away, he was a roundsman.

CHAPTER XII.

HOME AND ABROAD VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT.

American Competition in English Magazines about Americans—Some Errors of England—"Articulate" Surroundings of Roosevelt—The Scorching Light upon Him—Resemblance of "Theodore" to "William" Traced by "Poultney"—Supplement by Dr. Shaw—British Historian as an Expert Correspondent.

THE comparative youth of President Roosevelt introduces to the public young men who have not heretofore been counted as among the advisers of Chief Magistrates, and several of them are expected to give evidence of usefulness. Some are already advanced in excellent experiences, and all have literary accomplishments.

The London Spectator has declared the "new President," and this is a way of designation that does not seem quite thoughtful, to be of "the old-fashioned American type,"—to "resemble more closely the Presidents of the earlier years of the Republic." That he is a typical modern man is admitted, but "he is, in heart and essentials," the Spectator says, "far nearer the old type of the American statesman than the majority of men who have presided over America within the last sixty years."

Mr. Lincoln is ruled out of competition as "a man of genius," and so, "an exception to every rule, as much an exception among Presidents as Alfred, with whom he has many points of resemblance, was among Kings;" but, "save for Mr. Lincoln and General Grant, the modern Presidents have not been men of mark. They have been sound and excellent constitutional Monarchs, but not leaders and rulers of men. Mr. Roosevelt is far more like the men of the first three decades of the Republic than the Convention-made Presidents of modern times. When we say he is an old-fashioned American, we mean that he belongs to that strong, vigorous, authoritative type which has always existed in America, and always been apparent enough in business and in private life, though of late it has been somewhat submerged in politics. The late Lord Sherbrooke declared that what he liked about one of his colleagues—Lord Hartington—was his 'you-be-damnedness.' That same quality of downright-ness, fearlessness and determination is to be found in Mr. Roosevelt." This is about as far as an Englishman can go in praise of an American President, but

the Spectator makes another good point; indeed, the best and truest one of the lot, putting it in this way, "Together with his intensity and keenness, the new President is a man of moderation." To Americanize the remark, this moderation of tone is seen in all his expressions of opinion on such home questions as those of the trusts, temperance legislation and the tariff.

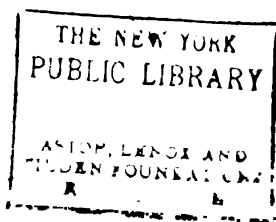
England's hostility to slave labor was largely for remote exercise and home consumption. The English spent a lot of money rather profligately and injudiciously, to abolish slavery far away, so far that the price of emancipation was not as a rule paid to the real slave holders. If either of the sections fighting the great American war, had been better informed in English history, there would have been less anger and misapprehension concerning the inconsistency of the British, with themselves touching ourselves. By this time we have been much improved in international acquaintance. Our neighbors are much nearer than they were a generation ago in the time and cost of travel, and the equality and freedom with which we simultaneously receive and act upon the news of the day, for now events are recorded as fast as the shadow of the globe the sun casts through the universe, follows the light. Yet, we do not find any Nation, great or small, very fond of another Nation, however small or great, that maintains a policy of nationality, and prefers to colonize afar off, rather than owe annexation to the attraction of superior weight. Friendliness with other powers can hardly be cultivated with alliances. Germany, Austria and Italy do not improve their fellow feeling by "entangling" treaties; but with the alliance of France and Russia, it becomes possible, when the Czar desires to make an end of Turkey in Europe, he can do it as a peace measure, and the Central European Nations seek compensation in division of spoils, rather than by war. It is questionable whether the vaunted peace of "Arbitration" will ever come to the world, and with our Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny, we do not care to tie ourselves up or down, in an agreement creating Courts, in which the presiding judge, whose casting vote decides the contention, will, in a majority of cases, be given by a second-class King.

Our Spanish War was an object lesson for the great powers, and instructed them, that our standing was to be taken into the most serious and respectful consideration. Our Navy signifies much more, since it was shown by tests of arms to be easily ready and effective. There are no ships, guns or marksmen better than ours; and that is a severely restrained form of expressing the fact. Our military prestige has been greatly increased by Roosevelt's regiment of Rough Riders; for they mean to the masters of armies that we have a reserve, the existence of which was not suspected, that on a field broad enough for full display and exertion, would be equal to meeting any cavalry that ever charged.

The Buffalo Tragedy has turned a tremendous searchlight upon the United States. The burning rays that are said to bear upon thrones, are not as searching as those that have poured upon us. The form of our government and the fitness of our people, have been under a storm of fire. A reason for this is, that the assassin of the third of our murdered Presidents, was not, as the murderer of Lincoln was, a melodramatic actor, crazy with vanity, a horrible impersonation of the madness that comes of acting dreams of bloodshed; while Garfield's murderer was a degenerate, a hideous crank, raving for an office in the gift of the President. The murderer of McKinley was an Anarchist, and "Anarchy" has been held to be a "problem" that belongs to Europe rather than to America. Europe and all the world turn to see how the "terrible bereavement" that President Roosevelt named our loss, affects our institutions, what it sets forth of our condition and character. We have done a great deal of boasting, and have gone far to justify it; but the pistol-shot in the Temple of Music, on the ground of the Pan-American Exposition, was aimed at the President as the President. The intention was to assassinate the Republic.

William McKinley was a great and good man, a just and pure man; a man of Christian spirit and gentleness, his sacrifice and death, his fortitude in anguish, and resignation when he knew the hand of death was upon him—when he sent for his wife the last time to try to comfort her as he was going; his last words infinite tenderness; his whispered singing with his last breath of the hymn that had comforted him in the trials of life, and his triumph with it in death—why, of all men, should this man be slaughtered while he was extending a courtesy to the Butcher? President McKinley had done more than any other since the beginning to aid the people of his country to be prosperous; and more to help the working-man to his share of the prosperity created by work, than any other statesman who has lived and wrought with us. What hissed the blood-hound upon this man, himself a workingman, the son of a workingman—this unselfish man, who was all charitableness for the erring, with good will for all, hopeful and helpful for all; a man of the people, his household all kindly—this man of generosity? Why does the murderer strike him down in this land of the free, the home of the oppressed; in the very "Empire for Liberty," of the equal rights of men? Whence comes the monster to whom this woeful crime is possible? It is not wonderful that Europe, and all the continents, and the islands of the sea, look aghast upon this spectacle. It is a phenomenon as surprising as it is awful.

We have not lost, in the public opinion of enlightened mankind, by the mournful and tragic event at Buffalo; as it and all the associated circumstances have been given a publicity without parallel, in its extent, its thoroughness, and the rapidity of circulation of the truth. All the earth's great cities that take





CUR YOUNGEST PRESIDENT AT HIS
BUSY DESK

part in current affairs, get the same news at the same time, or so nearly that there is no appreciable difference; and we have heard from all the inhabitants of our planet regarding this assault upon civilization committed in our midst by a barbarian, a savage malignant.

There appeared two typical Americans in McKinley and Roosevelt. The assassin had nothing in common with our countrymen but his location. He scoffed at all that is held honorable and holy. He was the product of foreign conditions, and got his idea of vengeance visited upon rulers in an air other than that of this hemisphere. He was indoctrinated by demagogues, male and female, whose voices are as the hissing of venomous reptiles. He was a creature rank with poisons.

The world will be the better for the life and death of William McKinley; and it will be stronger, more truthful, brave and ambitious in good works, for a character of such courage of conviction, candor of speech, and capability in action as Theodore Roosevelt. The story of McKinley is one of the few that is for all time. No man has been born for a thousand years whose genius of endeavor in the elevation of humanity, exceeds his, and whose immortality is more certain and radiant than his. America is enriched by his fame.

The nations beyond our borders, weighted with their dynasties, burdened by their standing armies, whose greater industry is that of lifting up the sword, have been impressed by the absence of all shadow of doubt upon the constitutionality and popular assent and acclaim of the succession when the Chief Magistrate was removed. The wisdom of our Fathers is seen in what is well called the "automatic" succession of the Vice-President to the Presidency. This is all the more influential because the original framers of the Constitution, as accepted by the States, did not frame the provision that is admired for its simplicity, that makes definite, certain, and peaceable every step. The Electoral College is a conservative contrivance; but the arrangement first tried, yielding the Vice-Presidency to the candidate for President second in the count of electoral votes, came near causing shipwreck; and the change that has saved us more than once in the gravest dangers, resulted from the people, who, undaunted and enlightened, profited by the perils of experience.

It is exceedingly satisfactory to be able to say that the judgment of all 'Abroad, whose favorable opinion is desirable, of the character of the new President, is that we were fortunate to have him for Vice-President. His bearing during the trying scenes at Buffalo, was regarded in the capitals of Europe, and the South American Nations, and in the cities of Mexico and Canada, with constant respect, that rapidly grew to confidence and admiration. The people of general information in all lands regarded, with an interest unusually keen and an intelligence uncommonly acute, the Presidential Electors of 1900, and formed the opinion that it was wisdom in our people to come

to the conclusion recorded by the popular electoral votes; and they still think so.

The arrival of Roosevelt at Buffalo, summoned when the fatal shot was fired, to retire when there was the highest authority that the President was out of danger, and return when optimism was at an end and the inevitable at hand; and the perfect form with which he took up his task, were gratefully recognized, and with becoming gravity and quiet, commended.

The English people are our most intimate acquaintances beyond our boundaries, and the British press our most pronounced friends and critical foes. They quickly knew that Roosevelt was a man of strength and decorum, accustomed to assert for himself, and approve in others, individuality; a "rough rider," as the phrase goes, but never a ruffian; not given to posing as one composed, but always self-respecting in attitudes, and respectful in addressing honest men, and a leader of men when the drums beat the charge.

Several of the English monthlies are out with articles of considerable interest. There is a notable one in "The Nineteenth Century and After," for October, by Mr. W. Laird Clowes, who is at once highly eulogistic of the public character of the President, indulgent with his personal recollections, revealing in extracts and with statements direct, that he has been in correspondence with President Roosevelt.

The October number of the Contemporary Review printed an article by Poultney Bigelow, who writes with a zest and interest that exceeds the modest claims of accuracy. Mr. Bigelow has been esteemed often to be a man whose coloring matter sometimes exceeded the value of his solid material of fact. This gentleman might approve the story Mark Twain tells as the truth of himself as a writer, and no doubt it is true, but has occasional lapses into exaggeration. The great and good humorist said, when asked why he did not dictate to a stenographer or a phonograph: "I can't do that. I can't talk writing. In fact, I do not write at all. It is my pen that does the writing. I stick it in the ink and put it to the paper, and it goes right at it, and does its work. When it stops, I quit, of course." The pen of Mr. Bigelow plays tricks on him, does the writing, and behaves like a bucking broncho, rises up and paws and kicks, especially kicks. His article in the Contemporary did not seem to be quite the thing wanted on either side of the Atlantic, and another gentleman was called to supplement in the November Contemporary the one about Roosevelt, prepared by the Bigelow prancing pen.

The London papers were more careful than our own, as a rule, to say that Mr. Roosevelt was not on a hunting excursion when McKinley's relapse took place, but had gone to bring his family from their summer residence in the Adirondacks to their winter home, and received the summons on Mount Marcy. He had four hundred and forty miles before him and got to Buffalo in

forty hours. He met friends at the Wilcox House, and altered plans made for him that he might go first to the Milburn House. He refused two platoons of mounted police, but finally consented to have one of them on each side of his carriage.

The taking of the oath of office is described, as in a low, dingy room, surrounded by book-shelves, forty-three persons being present, twenty of whom were of the Press. Roosevelt's face was stern as if cut in stone and tears ran down his cheeks. It was manly to weep.

Mr. W. Laird Clowes puts down his propositions with remarkable confidence in his views, as an English magazine writer on an American theme, and incidentally mentions that Mr. Roosevelt was a contributor to his "History of the Royal Navy," and recognizes him as an "absolutely fair-minded man, who would not fail to pay due attention to the various controversies which had been excited in England by certain statements contained in his boyish and immature work." This is the first that has ever appeared accusing Mr. Roosevelt of doing anything "boyish and immature," with the possible exception of essays by some of the elder politicians, who thought he was too youthful to oppose Blaine and Sherman in the Chicago convention of 1884, and at the same time support the venerable Senator Edmunds, learned in the law and partaking of its privileges.

Mr. Clowes, in his paper on President Roosevelt, seems, in his character of historian, to feel it a duty to cover all the ground of the landscape of the President's record, and even invades the territory Mr. Poultney Bigelow had pre-empted. Mr. Clowes says there is no danger of Roosevelt proving a "weakling." We are pleased to have the assurance on such authority, but nobody had been alarmed as to that. Still the illustration of Roosevelt's "imperialism" that immediately follows, is so striking that all is forgiven. The historian of the Royal Navy says our "new President" is as "energetic in initiative, as determined and devoted to what he believes to be his duty, as the German Emperor;" and adds, "probably he has a better constitution, enjoys better health, than William the Second, whose senior he is by exactly three months." There is also a resemblance of Theodore to William "in the breadth and variety of his interests, and his aptitude for quickly grasping the essential features of an unfamiliar subject, in all which he is very like the Emperor."

The American writer who has contributed an essay to the magazine literature of America and Europe regarding President Roosevelt, with warrant of knowledge and the close sympathy of friendship, is Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the Review of Reviews; and we note this passage in his paper in the November issue of the Contemporary Review, that is suggestive, in the most retiring way of a suggestion on the highest authority, of launching aloft an arrow

to wing a fellow-man, posing on a rainbow. Here we have the first flight of darts.

"Every man of exceptional talents and successful career must naturally incite the reminiscent mood in those who have known him at some earlier stage of his life. Mr. Bigelow's article in last month's *Contemporary* throws some sidelights upon the manner and personality of the new President. Since, however, it left almost, or quite, untouched the more important recent years of Mr. Roosevelt's public career—not even alluding to the highest offices that he has held, or to the chief public work that he has done—I have no hesitation in accepting the editor's invitation to supplement that article. It will be my object to add something to the information of English readers concerning the new President in his relation to the particular problems he has to face, and to those immense responsibilities of a general nature that devolve in the United States upon the office of the Presidency. Upon the side of his political attitudes, his public services, and his serious views, I may hope to write with due knowledge."

Dr. Shaw does not exhaust the resources of personal conversation and private correspondence, to make clear to England the manner of man President Roosevelt is. He goes deeper, with finer touches, using instruments that are keener and wear better, but contents himself with a delicate and racy reference to "highly articulate surroundings." This superb stroke in three words deserves to be famous. Mr. W. Laird Clowes articulated some highly interesting matter as follows:

"A year after he had gone to the Navy Department, and when his country was on the brink of war with Spain, he wrote to me characteristically. And this was the writing:

"Though I feel a little blue at the outlook, it won't make the slightest difference in the way I shall work. I shall do my best to get the Navy up into proper shape; and while I won't accomplish nearly as much as I would like, still, I will accomplish something."

"Not many days afterwards, when the war had just begun, he surprised me by telling me that he was not sure that, in such a conflict, his place was at home, and that, the President having offered him a colonelcy of a volunteer regiment, he had accepted it and was going to the front."

A "few years earlier" than the time President Roosevelt was "assisting" Secretary Long, Mr. Clowes asked him to contribute to a history of the British Navy he had in hand, and goes on to be frank about the particulars, adding interest of the highest authority to the narrative.

"I suggested that he should write for me a critical description of the naval events of the War of 1812-15, between Great Britain and the United States; and I did so, first, because I had read and admired his early book on the same

subject; secondly, because I recognized him to be an absolutely fair-minded man, who would not fail to pay due attention to the various controversies which had been excited in England by certain statements contained in his boyish and immature work; and, finally, because I desired to show Americans and British alike how little real difference it makes, provided the narrator be well informed and fair-minded, whether the story of their unfortunate quarrels be written by an American of the Americans or by the most patriotic of Englishmen, such as Edward Pelham Brenton. As soon as I had heard from him in reply, I was sure I had done rightly. He wrote:

“I want to bring out as strikingly as possible the enormous damage inflicted on the United States by the sea power of England, the absolute paralysis it brought to American trade, and the suffering it caused the people; and to show that the single-ship victories, though very important from the point of view of moral, had not the slightest effect in breaking the British grip on the American throat; always excepting the fighting on the lakes. . . . Let me ask you . . . to give what space you can to the biography of Captain Manners, of the Reindeer: he has always seemed to me to be a very real hero, though a beaten one.”

We observe, in the list of the books written by the President, this: “The Naval War of 1812, or, The History of the United States Navy during the Last War with Great Britain; to which is appended an account of the Battle of New Orleans.” The Battle of New Orleans was not a part of naval history, though the call of the British fleet at Havana on the way home would be worth articulation. It is true that our Atlantic Coast interests suffered very much from the overbearing power of the British fleets. Henry Clay’s ten frigates were splendid, and they gave a brilliant account of themselves; but we were not able to sweep the seas, and did not conquer Canada. However, we abolished “impressment,” and held the mouth of the Mississippi, Andrew Jackson confirming our title to the expansion of territory to the Pacific Coast; and the last comfort of Napoleon in the hundred days, was in examining the American rifles sent him to show the weapons that saved New Orleans, the purchase of land for which we had paid fifteen million dollars to the Corsican.

Mr. Clowes’ period of surrounding President Roosevelt with articulate friendliness was when, as the record is stated, “Roosevelt was still at the Police Department,” and wrote to Mr. Clowes: “I have enjoyed my year, for all the bother, and have accomplished a certain amount.” It can not be said there was a boastfulness in this. Mr. Clowes proceeds with the expression of his very able and just views, which almost amount to a guarantee. In his mature judgment, Mr. Roosevelt “is not the stamp of man that feels that his own country has a monopoly of all the virtues. He knows the world and mankind far too well for that. He likes life in England, and he has many English friends; and,

other things being equal, he would rather work with Great Britain than against her. Nor is he the kind of man who refuses to see both sides of a question that affects himself and his country. Here are the opening lines of his contribution to my forthcoming volume:

"It is often difficult to realize that, in a clash between two peoples, not only may each side deem itself right, but each side may really be right from its own standpoint. A healthy and vigorous nation must obey the law of self-preservation. When it is engaged in a life and death grapple with a powerful foe, it can not too closely scan the damage it is incidentally forced to do neutral nations. On the other hand, it is just as little to be expected that one of these neutral nations, when wronged, will refrain from retaliation merely because the injuries are inflicted by the aggressor as a regrettable but necessary incident of a conflict with someone else.'"

After giving us the advantage of an extract from a forthcoming volume, Mr. Clowes pronounces the language he selected "just and reasonable;" and we agree to that, and heartily concur in this also as reassuring any disposed to be in a panic.

"I think that it represents exactly the attitude of mind which Colonel Roosevelt may be expected always to preserve in international affairs. He has seen war, and he is no lover of it."

The remarkable resemblance that Mr. Clowes points out as existing between the Emperor of Germany and the President of the United States, is more than confirmed by Mr. Poultney Bigelow, who speaks from his knowledge of the present Emperor William as a school-boy friend, and as an expert in Emperors, drew for the *British Contemporary* this historical and biographic parallel:

"Theodore Roosevelt was born towards the close of 1858 and William II. in the first month of 1859. There are about one hundred days difference in their ages—and almost as many points of resemblance. Both have been likened to political firebrands; both have lived down the reputation prematurely thrust upon them by those who pretended to know their psychological makeup. William II. is anything but a typical German ruler. Roosevelt is far from being an orthodox Presidential candidate. The Hohenzollern is a many-minded human paradox, full of interest for every tool in the machine shop of humanity—a master in many trades, at any of which he could earn his living creditably should a revolution afford him the opportunity of retiring to private life. Roosevelt stands out violently from past American Presidents, owing to the fact that he did not in early life split rails for a living, or drive mules on the tow-path, or acquire his academic rudiments by the light of a pine torch in a log cabin on the edge of the wilderness. Theodore and William were both born in comparatively easy circumstances, and provided with good tutors respectively in

Harvard and Potsdam. Of the two, perhaps Roosevelt has a trifle the advantage, for he, in his youth, enjoyed far more pocket money and liberty than his fellow ruler of Germany. Of the two homes, that of Roosevelt was decidedly more luxurious than that in the Neuss Palais at Potsdam—or at least when both were boys."

This is entering into the marrow bones of history and extracting their rich secretions. We do not refrain from quoting another passage of extraordinary flavor:

"Aside from the fact that neither has had to worry regarding the next quarter's rent, both are self-made men—both have carved out their own position in the history of their country by the development of qualities wholly outside of the orthodox curriculum. When Dr. Hinzpeter was anxiously watching over the young Prince William, like a distracted hen marvelling at the precocity of a duckling brood, he little dreamed that he was the tutor of a lad who was destined to dismiss Bismarck—and replace him—with facility; of a monarch who was destined to give Germany peace and prosperity for a full dozen years, and all before he was forty-three years of age! This alone entitles William II. to a worthy place in history, and for such an achievement his country can forgive him much."

And this articulation surpassed all that passed before:

"Roosevelt left the University in 1880, and prepared himself for the Bar by returning to his native city, New York, and attending the lectures in the law department of Columbia University (whose President, oddly enough, is at this moment urged to become Mayor of New York).

"At the law school, where we were fellow students, under Professor Dwight, I was struck by a quality in Roosevelt which I admired very much: He would never rest satisfied with any answer to one of his questions unless that answer was perfectly clear to him. Professor Dwight was a monument of sweet temper, with a handsome, white-haired, Socratic head, full of law and quaint flashes of humor, and a temperament like that of Hans Christian Andersen—one who delighted in simple narrative form. If this gentle nature had one earthly ambition it was to be reputed perfectly intelligible in the domain of Blackstone and Kent's Commentaries. But Roosevelt, like many another prospective conqueror, was slow of wit compared to the average lad (were not Blucher and Wellington poor things at school?) and he frequently held up the whole lecture room by insisting upon a detailed explanation of points that were obvious to the majority. Sometimes he excited discontent among his fellows by the delays he provoked, and once or twice I noticed even Professor Dwight struggling to preserve his serenity; but Roosevelt permitted himself to be diverted by no consideration save the solution of the immediate difficulty before him, and while he irritated his fellow students, and at times even his instructor, all

admired his moral courage, particularly the number who shared his difficulties, but let the matter pass rather than risk the consequences of boring a room full of impatient students. William II. was likewise a poor fist at the school desk; he accomplished what he did like Roosevelt, by sheer hard work, spurred on by a strong sense of duty."

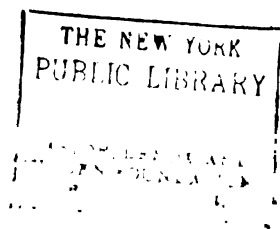
Mr. Bigelow has classified himself as a reformer, and also objects to the way Roosevelt had of pursuing his studies, as he did not affect to understand anything that he had not comprehended. It was not his way to glide smoothly around or over the crooked and rough places in the road, but to straighten the line and put metal on it that would wear. It sometimes happens that collegians have the good fortune to be taught by distinguished educators, glad to see young men before them so much interested as to ask questions intelligently, and to go on with inquiries until satisfied. It is only genius that soars and sings, and never touches the earth or asks the way.

Dr. Shaw does not articulate according to his surroundings, because he does not care to appear to be other than a trusted friend whose confidences are not cheapened by increase of responsibility. That which he says is subject to no reduction or effacement so far as the President is concerned. He was, as the author of the excellent and educational volumes on Municipal Government advanced to, and sustained himself in, the same class with Roosevelt as a Municipal reformer. However, he is of a group of young men who have been sure they were strong enough to overthrow existing parties, and provide one that would just suit themselves, and so sweep the country; but if they aim too high in aspiration for public good, it does not follow that they should be cast down.

There is a great deal of significance in the passage of Dr. Shaw's article in the *Contemporary Review* relating to the fact, that in 1884, when Mr. Roosevelt was against Blaine's nomination, he supported it when it was made, as he yielded to the organization. Dr. Shaw says:

"Many of his friends refused to abide by the choice of the Convention, and joined in the famous 'Mugwump' or independent movement which gave its support to Mr. Cleveland, the Democratic candidate. Mr. Roosevelt preferred to remain with his party, and gave his support to Mr. Blaine. The great majority of the Republicans of the West, young and old, were at that time enthusiastic admirers of James G. Blaine, and the action of Mr. Roosevelt impressed them as sagacious and honorable."

The strength of Roosevelt has been in abiding with his party, because he believed going into any other would harm the legitimate interests of wholesome reform, spoiling the reformatations that were practicable. He was called upon at Denver, by the Governor of Colorado, to say whether he was for the gold standard according to the platform on which he was nominated for Vice-





THEODORE JR. AND COMPANION
ON CAMPUS AT GROTON, MASS.

President, and said, he stood, as he "always had done," on the platform of his party. The Republican party has repeatedly suffered disaster that might have been avoided if it had not been for the people who were too particular about some views they entertained, to treat the party organization with the consideration due its power. The Hon. Seth Low might as well as not have been the first instead of the second Mayor of Greater New York, if supporters had not believed they were certain of victory with Low's name alone, and turned the city over to Tammany, by confiding management to presumptuous inexperience.

Mr. Roosevelt was strong enough to support Blaine as the candidate, though his opponent in the Convention; and if thousands of those who wandered, had moved in a direct line as he did, the Republican party would not have been beaten then by the vote of the City of New York. There are those pleased still that they were irregulars, and the country has a way of going ahead and doing better than is expected by those who are sensitive.

Of the Theodore Roosevelts, father and son, Dr. Shaw has given us a pleasing picture deftly drawn:

"His father was a very prominent and greatly respected citizen of New York; his character must always be a source of inspiration to a son who could not hope to surpass his father in much except in the wider fame that comes with the holding of political offices. Theodore Roosevelt, through his many college friendships, and through his even larger acquaintance in the City and State of New York, entered upon his career of public service with a greater number of young men of acute minds and the literary habit taking note of his progress than in the case of any other young man who has ever made a figure in American politics. Some men have attributed a part of their success in public life to methods of reserve, and to habits of comparative inaccessibility. But since the sphinx-like and mysterious have always been foreign to the nature of the new President, he has never cultivated those methods. He is naturally frank, outspoken and unreserved. Having a good conscience and a good courage, having absolutely no gift at all for finesse, he has been so free from restraint in the expression of his convictions and in the disclosure of his plans and intentions, and he has been so approachable and hospitable, moreover, that he now finds himself in the position of President of the United States, with at least a hundred acquaintances of earlier and later days who are both gifted with the pen, and in their own estimation qualified by personal knowledge to write an anecdotal narrative of his career, or an analytical estimate of his character."

The fine words of the last lines of the quotation above must be left to the appreciation and application of the reader, undisturbed by "anecdotal" annotation. There is, however, affluence of information in the paragraphs that follow

from the same source, whose accuracy of statement of fact that are not matters of opinion, is absolute.

"Mr. Roosevelt's six years' experience, extending from 1889 to 1895, in the Civil Service Office, gave him an invaluable understanding of the working of the so-called classified services, of all the methods of office-seekers and patronage brokers, and, in short, of the whole make-up of the work of the Federal Government so far as its personnel is concerned.

"His intense interest in the work of the Naval Office was heightened by the fact that he had been one of the first in the country to perceive that armed intervention on the part of the United States to end the war between Spain and the insurgents in Cuba was inevitable. His whole object, therefore, was to do his part in seeing that the Navy of the United States was in readiness to meet the naval forces of Spain. To that end, he caused the greatest attention to be paid to gunnery practice, and was instrumental in the sending of Admiral Dewey to command the Pacific Squadron.

"Private life never had any terrors for him, because to a young man of his discernment and talents abundant opportunities for good work lay in all directions. As he had come from a family not of great wealth but of ample means, he fortunately escaped that mania for wealth which thwarts the highest development and usefulness of so many talented young men in the United States. He prized his independence and his freedom above all things, and very early in life perceived the great advantage that comes from simple and unpretentious living. Mr. Bigelow made it plain that Mr. Roosevelt is a good specimen of what is sometimes called 'the muscular Christian;' but his devotion to physical exercises, his fondness for athletic games and pursuits, his zest for outdoor life, and the stir of the chase for big game in mountain wildernesses, have never for him meant mere distractions or time-consuming pursuits, but rather a part of that wise use of a busy man's time whereby he expands, matures and conserves his powers for the more serious business of life."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRESIDENT'S ORATIONS.

Two of Them as Lofty Examples—The Famous "Strenuous Life" and "Manhood and Statehood"—The Boldness with Which the President Expresses Himself—The Literary Men of the World in Great Affairs.

THE very interesting fact that three days before President McKinley made his last speech, Vice-President Roosevelt spoke at Minneapolis, and that without consultation or exchange of views, there were, touching the issues of the future, coincidences in expression and doctrine, in the two speeches, drew public attention to the Minneapolis utterance of Roosevelt to such an extent that other addresses by him were almost forgotten for a time. The President and Vice-President were moved to dwell in the first week of September upon the problems before the country that needed discussion, for there were changes in the world that called for something more than drifting in the stream of prosperity, and the two first officers of our Government proposed identical steps of progress.

There is in Roosevelt's speeches a quality that is heroic. He has a way of saying all that can be said. This does not mean going to extremes of radicalism, but that the speaking is unreserved. There is nothing left out or put in because there would be according to the common production of a politician, a phrase to parry a possible attack, or one omitted, because it would provoke. He has often been appealed to for a retraction of something in color or the softening of a severe saying, but if the truth has been fairly told in his judgment it is never compromised by him. As a case of plain speaking the President had to say in Chicago some time before the latest murder of a President:

"I am in all my feelings national, and neither local nor sectional, and I am happy to add, parenthetically, I am not in the least cosmopolitan, and it is a pleasure for me to speak to you of Chicago, because Chicago is intensely and typically an American city. Of recent years, Chicago has done two things because of which she deserves well of the whole nation. You have put down and punished (even if not altogether adequately) two foul, foreign conspiracies, which were hatched in your midst; dealt with the anarchist dynamite throwers as they deserved, and also dealt with, though not as thoroughly as they

deserved, the members of a foreign dynamite society, who, on account of a factional quarrel, had murdered an American citizen. I have full faith any future offenders of the same sort will be visited with even prompter and severer punishment, whether they are found in the ranks of the anarchists on one hand or of the Clan-na-Gael or some kindred organization on the other."

The method of Roosevelt could not have a better illustration of a way of speaking that does not call for annotation.

The speech before the Hamilton Club of Chicago, April 15th, 1899, on "The Strenuous Life," has added a word to the language, and accomplished a great deal of good in pointing young men to the higher life of activity—to hold idleness in contempt. It is such an unconscious history of the President himself, that it is indispensable as an autographic biography.

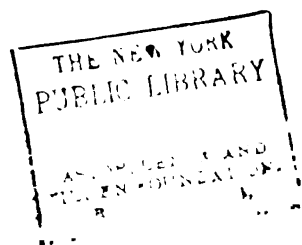
THE STRENUOUS LIFE.

"Gentlemen: In speaking to you, men of the greatest city of the West, men of the State which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who pre-eminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of strenuous life; the life of toil and effort; of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires more easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.

"A life of ignoble ease, a life of that peace which springs merely from lack either of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual. I ask only that what every self-respecting American demands from himself, and from his sons, shall be demanded of the American nation as whole. Who among you would teach your boys that ease, that peace is to be the first consideration in their eyes—to be the ultimate goal after which they strive. You men of Chicago have made this city great, you men of Illinois have done your share, and more than your share, in making America great, because you neither preach nor practice such a doctrine. You work yourselves, and you bring up your sons to work. If you are rich, and are worth your salt, you will teach your sons that though they may have leisure, it is not to be spent in idleness; for wisely used leisure merely means that those who possess it, being free from the necessity of working for their livelihood, are all the more bound to carry on some kind of non-remunerative work in science, in letters, in art, in exploration, in historical research—work of the type we most need in this country, the successful carrying out of which reflects most honor upon the nation. We do not admire the man of timid peace. We admire the man who embodies victorious effort; the man who never wrongs his neighbors; who is prompt to help a friend; but who has those virile qualities neces-



STUMPING



sary to win in the stern strife of actual life. It is hard to fail; but it is worse never to have tried to succeed. In this life we get nothing save by effort. Freedom from effort in the present, merely means that there has been stored up effort in the past. A man can be freed from the necessity of work only by the fact that he or his fathers before him have worked to good purpose. If the freedom thus purchased is used aright, and the man still does actual work, though of a different kind, whether as a writer or a general, whether in the field of politics or in the field of exploration and adventure, he shows he deserves his good fortune. But if he treats this period of freedom from the need of actual labor, as a period not of preparation, but of mere enjoyment, even though perhaps not of vicious enjoyment, he shows that he is simply a cumberer of the earth's surface; and he surely unfits himself to hold his own with his fellows, if the need to do so should again arise. A mere life of ease is not in the end a very satisfactory life; and, above all, it is a life which ultimately unfits those who follow it for serious work in the world.

"As it is with the individual, so it is with the nation. It is a base untruth to say that happy is the nation that has no history. Thrice happy is the nation that has a glorious history. Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat. If in 1861 the men who loved the Union had believed that peace was the end of all things, and war and strife the worst of all things, and had acted up to their belief, we would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives; we would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars. Moreover, besides saving all the blood and treasure we then lavished, we would have prevented the heart-break of many women, the dissolution of many homes; and we would have spared the country those months of gloom and shame, when it seemed as if our armies marched only to defeat. We could have avoided all this suffering simply by shrinking from strife. And if we had thus avoided it, we would have shown that we were weaklings, and that we were unfit to stand among the great nations of the earth. Thank God for the iron in the blood of our fathers, the men who upheld the wisdom of Lincoln and bore sword or rifle in the armies of Grant! Let us, the children of the men who proved themselves equal to the mighty days—let us, the children of the men who carried the great Civil War to a triumphant conclusion, praise the God of our fathers that the ignoble counsels of peace were rejected; that the suffering and loss, the blackness of sorrow and despair, were unflinchingly faced, and the years of strife endured; for in the end the slave was freed, the Union restored, and the mighty American Republic placed once more as a helmetted queen among nations.

"We of this generation do not have to face a task such as that our fathers
T. R.—11

faced, but we have our tasks, and woe to us if we fail to perform them! We can not, if we would, play the part of China, and be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond them; sunk in a scrambling commercialism; heedless of the higher life, the life of aspiration, of toil and risk; busying ourselves only with the wants of our bodies for the day; until suddenly we should find, beyond a shadow of question, what China has already found, that in this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease is bound in the end to go down before other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities. If we are to be a really great people, we must strive in good faith to play a great part in the world. We can not avoid meeting great issues. All that we can determine for ourselves is, whether we shall meet them well or ill. Last year we could not help being brought face to face with the problem of war with Spain. All we could decide was whether we should shrink like cowards from the contest, or enter into it as beseemed a brave and high spirited people; and, once in, whether failure or success should crown our banners. So it is now. We can not avoid the responsibilities that confront us in Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. All we can decide is whether we shall meet them in a way that will redound to the national credit, or whether we shall make our dealings with these new problems a dark and shameful page in our history. To refuse to deal with them at all merely amounts to dealing with them badly. We have a given problem to solve. If we undertake the solution, there is, of course, always danger that we may not solve it aright; but to refuse to undertake the solution simply renders it certain that we can not possibly solve it aright. The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the over-civilized man who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills Stern with empires in their brains—all these of course shrink from seeing the nation undertake its new duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work, by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag. These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear the only national life which is really worth leading. They believe in that cloistered life which saps the hardy virtues in a nation, as it saps them in the individual; or else they are wedded to that base spirit of gain and greed which recognizes in commercialism the be-all and end-all of national life, instead of realizing that, though an indispensable element, it is after all but one of the many elements that go to make up true national greatness. No country can long endure if its foundations are not laid deep in the material prosperity which comes from thrift, from business energy and

enterprise, from hard, unsparing effort in the fields of industrial activity; but neither was any nation ever yet truly great if it relied upon material prosperity alone. All honor must be paid to the architects of our material prosperity; to the great captains of industry who have built our factories and our railroads; to the strong men who toil for wealth with brain or hand; for great is the debt of the nation to those and their kind. But our debt is yet greater to the men whose highest type is to be found in a statesman like Lincoln, a soldier like Grant. They showed by their lives that they recognized the law of work, the law of strife; they toiled to win a competence for themselves, and those dependent upon them; but they recognized that there were yet other and even loftier duties—duties to the nation and duties to the race.

"We can not sit huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond. Such a policy would defeat even its own ends; for as the nations grow to have ever wider and wider interests and are brought into closer and closer contact, if we are to hold our own in the struggle for naval and commercial supremacy, we must build up our power within our own borders. We must build the Isthmian canal, and we must grasp the points of vantage which will enable us to have our say in deciding the destiny of the oceans of the east and the west.

"So much for the commercial side. From the standpoint of international honor, the argument is even stronger. The guns that thundered off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. If we drove out a mediaeval tyranny to make room for savage anarchy, we had better not have begun the task at all. It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform and we can now leave to their fates the islands we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work; and we would have shown ourselves weaklings, unable to carry to successful completion the labors that great and high spirited nations are eager to undertake.

"The work must be done. We can not escape our responsibility, and if we are worth our salt, we shall be glad of the chance to do the work—glad of the chance to show ourselves equal to one of the great tasks set modern civilization. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the importance of the task. Let us not be misled by vain glory into underestimating the strain it will put on our powers. Above all, let us, as we value our self-respect, face the responsibilities with proper seriousness, courage and high resolve. We must demand the highest order of integrity and ability in our public men who are to grapple with those new problems. We must hold to a rigid accountability those public servants who show unfaithfulness to the interests of the nation or inability to

rise to the high level of the new demands upon our strength and our resources.

"Of course, we must remember not to judge any public servant by any one act, and especially should we beware of attacking the men who are merely the occasions and not the causes of disaster. Let me illustrate what I mean by the army and the navy. If twenty years ago we had gone to war, we should have found the navy as absolutely unprepared as the army. At that time our ships could not have encountered with success the fleets of Spain any more than nowadays we can put untrained soldiers, no matter how brave, who are armed with archaic black powder weapons, against well drilled Regulars armed with the highest type of modern repeating rifle. But in the early '80's the attention of the nation became directed to our naval needs. Congress most wisely made a series of appropriations to build up a new navy, and under a succession of able and patriotic secretaries, of both political parties, the navy was gradually built up, until its material became equal to its splendid personnel, with the result that last summer it leaped to its proper place as one of the most brilliant and formidable fighting navies in the entire world. We rightly pay all honor to the men controlling the navy at the time it won these great deeds, honor to Secretary Long and Admiral Dewey, to the Captains who handled the ships in action, to the daring lieutenants who braved death in the smaller craft, and to the heads of bureaus at Washington who saw that the ships were so commanded, so armed, so equipped, so well engined, as to insure the best results. But let us keep ever in mind that all of this would not have availed if it had not been for the wisdom of the men who during the preceding fifteen years had built up the navy. Keep in mind the Secretaries of the Navy during those years; keep in mind the Senators and Congressmen who by their votes gave the money necessary to build and to armor the ships, to construct the great guns, and to train the crews; remember also who actually did build the ships, the armor and the guns; and remember the Admirals and Captains who handled battleships, cruisers and torpedo boats on the high seas, alone and in squadrons, developing the seamanship, the gunnery and the power of acting together, which their successors utilized so gloriously at Manila and off Santiago. And, gentlemen, remember the converse, too. Remember that justice has two sides. Be just to those who built up the navy, and for the sake of the future of the country, keep in mind those who opposed its building up. Read the Congressional Record. Find out the Senators and Congressmen who opposed the grants for building the new ships, who opposed the purchase of armor without which the ships were worthless; who opposed any adequate maintenance for the navy department, and strove to cut down the number of men necessary to man our fleets. The men who did these things were one and all working to bring disaster on the country. They have no share in the glory of Manila, in the honor of Santiago. They have no cause

to feel proud of the valor of our sea captains, of the renown of our flag. Their motives may or may not have been good, but their acts were heavily fraught with evil. They did ill for the national honor; and we won in spite of their sinister opposition.

"Now, apply all this to our public men of to-day. Our army has never been built up as it should be built up. I shall not discuss with an audience like this the puerile suggestion that a nation of seventy millions of free men is in danger of losing its liberties from the existence of an army of one hundred thousand men, three-fourths of whom will be employed in certain foreign islands, in certain coast fortresses, and on Indian reservations. No man of good sense and stout heart can take such a proposition seriously. If we are such weaklings as the proposition implies, then we are unworthy of freedom in any event. To no body of men in the United States is the country so much indebted as to the splendid officers and enlisted men of the Regular army and navy; there is no body from which the country has less to fear; and none of which it should be prouder, or which it should be more anxious to upbuild.

"Our army needs complete reorganization—not merely enlarging—and the reorganization can only come as the result of legislation. A proper general staff should be established, and the positions of ordnance, commissary and quartermaster officers should be filled by detail from the line. Above all, the army must be given the chance to exercise in large bodies. Never again should we see, as we saw in the Spanish War, major-generals, in command of divisions, who had never before commanded three companies together in the field. Yet incredible to relate, the recent Congress has showed a queer inability to learn some of the lessons of the war. There were large bodies of men in both branches who opposed the declaration of war, who opposed the ratification of peace, who opposed the upbuilding of the army, and who even opposed the purchase of armor at a reasonable price for the battleships and cruisers, thereby putting an absolute stop to the building of any new fighting ships for the navy. If during the years to come any disaster should befall our arms, afloat or ashore, and thereby any shame come to the United States, remember that the blame will lie upon the men whose names appear upon the roll calls of Congress on the wrong side of these great questions. On them will lie the burden of any loss of our soldiers and sailors, of any dishonor to the flag; and upon you and the people of this country will lie the blame, if you do not repudiate, in an unmistakable way, what these men have done. The blame will not rest upon the untrained commander of untried troops; upon the civil officers of a department the organization of which has been left utterly inadequate; or upon the Admiral with insufficient number of ships; but upon the public men who have so lamentably failed in forethought as to refuse to

remedy these evils long in advance, and upon the nation that stands behind those public men.

"So at the present hour no small share of the responsibility for the blood shed in the Philippines, the blood of our brothers and the blood of their wild and ignorant foes, lies at the thresholds of those who so long delayed the adoption of the treaty of peace, and of those who by their worse than foolish words deliberately invited a savage people to plunge into a war fraught with sure disaster for them; a war, too, in which our own brave men who follow the flag must pay with their blood for the silly mock-humanitarianism of the prattlers who sit at home in peace.

"The army and the navy are the sword and the shield which this nation must carry, if she is to do her duty among the nations of the earth—if she is not to stand merely as the China of the western hemisphere. Our proper conduct toward the tropic islands we have wrested from Spain is merely the form which our duty has taken at the moment. Of course, we are bound to handle the affairs of our own household well. We must see that there is civic honesty, civic cleanliness, civic good sense in our house administration of city, State and nation. We must strive for honesty in office, for honesty towards the creditors of the nation and of the individual; for the widest freedom of individual initiative where possible, and for the wisest control of the individual initiative where it is hostile to the welfare of the many. But because we set our own household in order, we are not thereby excused from playing our part in the great affairs of the world. A man's first duty is to his home, but he is not thereby excused from doing his duty to the State; for if he fails in this second duty it is under the penalty of ceasing to be a free man. In the same way, while a nation's first duty is within its own borders, it is not thereby absolved from facing its duties in the world as a whole; and if it refuses to do so, it merely forfeits its right to struggle for a place among the peoples that shape the destiny of mankind.

"In the West Indies and the Philippines alike we are confronted by most difficult problems. It is cowardly to shrink from solving them in the proper way; for solved they must be, if not by us, then by some stronger and more manful race; if we are too weak, too selfish or too foolish to solve them, some bolder and abler people must undertake the solution. Personally I am far too firm a believer in the greatness of my country and the power of my countrymen to admit for one moment that we shall ever be driven to the ignoble alternative.

"The problems are different for the different islands. Porto Rico is not large enough to stand alone. We must govern it wisely and well, primarily in the interest of its own people. Cuba is, in my judgment, entitled ultimately to settle for itself whether it shall be an independent State or an integral

portion of the mightiest of republics. But until order and stable liberty are secured, we must remain in the island to insure them; and infinite tact, judgment, moderation and courage must be shown by our military and civil representatives in keeping the island pacified, in relentlessly stamping out brigandage, in protecting all alike, and yet in showing proper recognition to the men who have fought for Cuban liberty. The Philippines offer a yet graver problem. Their population includes half caste and native Christians, warlike Moslems, and wild Pagans. Many of their people are utterly unfit for self-government and show no signs of becoming fit. Others may in time become fit, but at present can only take part in self-government under a wise supervision at once firm and beneficent. We have driven Spanish tyranny from the islands. If we now let it be replaced by savage anarchy, our work has been for harm and not for good. I have scant patience with those who fear to undertake the task of governing the Philippines, and who openly avow that they do fear to undertake it, or that they shrink from it because of the expense and trouble; but I have even scantier patience with those who make a pretense of humanitarianism to hide and cover their timidity, and who cant about 'liberty' and the 'consent of the governed,' in order to excuse themselves for their unwillingness to play the part of men. Their doctrines if carried out would make it incumbent upon us to leave the Apaches of Arizona to work out their own salvation and to decline to interfere in a single Indian reservation. Their doctrines condemn your forefathers and mine for ever having settled in these United States.

"England's rule in India and Egypt has been of great benefit to England, for it has trained up generations of men accustomed to look at the larger and loftier side of public life. It has been of even greater benefit to India and Egypt. And finally and most of all, it has advanced the cause of civilization. So, if we do our duty aright in the Philippines, we will add to that national renown which is the highest and finest part of national life; will greatly benefit the people of the Philippine Islands; and above all we will play our part well in the great work of uplifting mankind. But to do this work, keep ever in mind that we must show in a very high degree the qualities of courage, of honesty and of good judgment. Resistance must be stamped out. The first and all-important work to be done is to establish the supremacy of our flag. We must put down armed resistance before we can accomplish anything else, and there should be no parleying, no faltering in dealing with our foe. As for those in our own country who encourage the foe, we can afford contemptuously to disregard them; but it must be remembered that their utterances are saved from being treasonable merely from the fact that they are despicable.

"When once we have put down armed resistance, when once our rule is acknowledged, then an even more difficult task will begin, for then we must

see to it that the islands are administered with absolute honesty and with good judgment. If we let the public service of the islands be turned into the prey of the spoils politician, we shall have begun to tread the path which Spain trod to her own destruction. We must send out there only good and able men, chosen for their fitness and not because of their partizan service, and these men must not only administer impartial justice to the natives and serve their own Government with honesty and fidelity, but must show the utmost tact and firmness, remembering that with such people as those with whom we are to deal, weakness is the greatest of crimes, and that next to weakness comes lack of consideration for their principles and prejudices.

"I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country call not for the life of ease, but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease, and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by and will win for themselves the domination of the world. Let us therefore boldly face the lift of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully; resolute to uphold righteousness by deed and by word; resolute to be both honest and brave, to serve high ideals, yet to use practical methods. Above all, let us not shrink from strife, moral or physical, within or without the nation, provided we are certain that the strife is justified; for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness."

In continuation of the application of strenuous life to the affairs of the world, the President has referred to the "many excellent people who have praised Tolstoi's fantastic religious doctrines, his fantastic advocacy of peace. The same quality that makes the debauchee and the devotee alternate in certain decadent families, the hysterical development which leads to violent emotional reaction in a morbid nature from vice to virtue, also leads to the creation of Tolstoi's 'Kreutzer Sonata' on the one hand, and of his unhealthy peace-mysticism on the other. A sane and healthy mind would be as incapable of the moral degradation of the novel as of the decadent morality of the philosophy. If Tolstoi's countrymen had acted according to his moral theories, they would now be extinct."

The preference for war rather than peace sometimes, was stated in the following, in which he denounces "the great danger of indiscriminate advocacy of peace at any price":

"The great blot upon European international morality in the closing decade of this century has been not a war, but the infamous peace kept by the joint action of the great powers, while Turkey inflicted the last horrors of

butchery, torture and outrage upon the men, women and children of despairing Armenia. War was avoided; peace was kept; but what a peace! Infinitely greater human misery was inflicted during this peace than in the late wars of Germany with France, of Russia with Turkey; and this misery fell, not on armed men, but upon defenseless women and children, upon the gray-beard and the stripling no less than upon the head of the family; and it came, not in the mere form of death or imprisonment, but of tortures upon men, and, above all, upon women, too horrible to relate—tortures of which it is too terrible even to think. Moreover, no good resulted from the bloodshed and misery. Often this is the case in a war, but often it is not the case. The result of the last Turko-Russian war was an immense and permanent increase of happiness for Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. These provinces became independent or passed under the dominion of Austria, and the advantage that accrued to them because of this expansion of the domain of civilization at the expense of barbarism has been simply incalculable. This expansion produced peace, and put a stop to the ceaseless, grinding, bloody tyranny that desolated the Balkans for so many centuries."

One of the noblest orations ever pronounced is that of Theodore Roosevelt at Colorado Springs, August 2, 1901, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the admission of the State to the Union. It contains in superb form the essence of American History; and there was dramatic fitness in the spot, the time, the surroundings of this deliverance and the appearance of the orator himself.

MANHOOD AND STATEHOOD.

"This anniversary, which marks the completion by Colorado of her first quarter-century of Statehood, is of interest not only to her sisters, the States of the Rocky Mountain region, but to our whole country. With the exception of the admission to Statehood of California, no other event emphasized in such dramatic fashion the full meaning of the growth of our country as did the incoming of Colorado.

"It is a law of our intellectual development that the greatest and most important truths, when once we have become thoroughly familiar with them, often because of that very familiarity grow dim in our minds. The westward spread of our people across this continent has been so rapid, and so great has been their success in taming the rugged wilderness, turning the gray desert into green fertility, and filling the waste and lonely places with the eager, thronging, crowded life of our industrial civilization, that we have begun to accept it all as part of the order of nature. Moreover, it now seems to us equally a matter of course that when a sufficient number of the citizens of our common country have thus entered into and taken possession of some great tract of empty wilderness, they should be permitted to enter the Union as a State on

an absolute equality with the older States, having the same right both to manage their own local affairs as they deem best, and to exercise their full share of control over all the affairs of whatever kind or sort in which the nation is interested as a whole. The youngest and the oldest States stand on an exact level in one indissoluble and perpetual Union.

"To us nowadays these processes seem so natural that it is only by a mental wrench that we conceive of any other as possible. Yet they are really wholly modern and of purely American development. When, a century before Colorado became a State, the original thirteen States began the great experiment of a free and independent republic on this continent, the process which we now accept in such matter-of-course fashion was looked upon as abnormal and revolutionary. It is our own success here in America that has brought about the complete alteration in feeling. The chief factor in producing the Revolution, and later in producing the War of 1812, was the inability of the mother country to understand that the freemen who went forth to conquer a continent should be encouraged in that work, and could not and ought not to be expected to toil only for the profit or glory of others. When the first Continental Congress assembled, the British government, like every other government of Europe at that time, simply did not know how to look upon the general question of the progress of the colonies save from the standpoint of the people who had stayed at home. The spread of the hardy, venturesome backwoodsmen was to most of the statesmen of London a matter of anxiety rather than of pride, and the famous Quebec Act of 1774 was in part designed with the purpose of keeping the English-speaking settlements permanently east of the Alleghanies, and preserving the mighty and beautiful valley of the Ohio as a hunting-ground for savages, a preserve for the great fur-trading companies; and as late as 1812 this project was partially revived.

"More extraordinary still, even after independence was achieved, and a firm Union accomplished under that wonderful document, the Constitution adopted in 1789, we still see traces of the same feeling lingering here and there in our own country. There were plenty of men in the seaboard States who looked with what seems to us ludicrous apprehension at the steady westward growth of our people. Grave senators and representatives expressed dire foreboding as to the ruin which would result from admitting the communities growing up along the Ohio to a full equality with the older States; and when Louisiana was given Statehood, they insisted that that very fact dissolved the Union. When our people had begun to settle in the Mississippi valley, Jefferson himself accepted with equanimity the view that probably it would not be possible to keep regions so infinitely remote as the Mississippi and the Atlantic coast in the same Union. Later even such a staunch Union man and firm

believer in Western growth as fearless old Tom Benton, of Missouri, thought that it would be folly to try to extend the national limits westward of the Rocky Mountains. In 1830 our then best-known man of letters and historian, Washington Irving, prophesied that for ages to come the country upon which we now stand would be inhabited simply by roving tribes of nomads.

"The mental attitude of all these good people need not surprise anybody. There was nothing in the past by which to judge either the task before this country, or the way in which that task was to be done. As Lowell finely said, on this continent we have made new States as Old World men pitch tents. Even the most far-seeing statesmen, those most gifted with the imagination needed by really great statesmen, could not at first grasp what the process really meant. Slowly and with incredible labor the backwoodsmen of the old colonies hewed their way through the dense forests from the tide-water region to the crests of the Alleghanies. But by the time the Alleghenies were reached, about at the moment when our national life began, the movement had gained wonderful momentum. Thenceforward it advanced by leaps and bounds, and the frontier pushed westward across the continent with ever-increasing rapidity until the day came when it vanished entirely. Our greatest statesmen have always been those who believed in the nation—who had faith in the power of our people to spread until they should become the mightiest among the peoples of the world.

"Under any governmental system which was known to Europe, the problem offered by the westward thrust, across a continent, of so masterful and liberty-loving a race as ours would have been insoluble. The great civilized and colonizing races of antiquity, the Greeks and the Romans, had been utterly unable to devise a scheme under which when their race spread it might be possible to preserve both national unity and local and individual freedom. When a Hellenic or Latin city sent off a colony, one of two things happened. Either the colony was kept in political subjection to the city or state of which it was an offshot, or else it became a wholly independent and alien, and often a hostile nation. Both systems were fraught with disaster. With the Greeks race unity was sacrificed to local independence, and as a result the Greek world became an easy prey of foreign conquerors. The Romans kept national unity, but only by means of a crushing centralized despotism.

"When the modern world entered upon the marvelous era of expansion which began with the discoveries of Columbus, the nations were able to devise no new plan. All the great colonizing powers, England, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and Russia, managed their colonies primarily in the interest of the home country. Some did better than others—England probably best and Spain worst,—but in no case were the colonists treated as citizens of equal rights in a common country. Our ancestors, who were at once the strongest

and the most liberty-loving among all the peoples who had been thrust out into new continents, were the first to revolt against this system; and the lesson taught by their success has been thoroughly learned.

"In applying the new principles to our conditions we have found the Federal Constitution a nearly perfect instrument. The system of a closely knit and indestructible union of free commonwealths has enabled us to do what neither Greek nor Roman in their greatest days could do. We have preserved the complete unity of an expanding race without impairing in the slightest degree the liberty of the individual. When in a given locality the settlers became sufficiently numerous, they were admitted to Statehood, and thenceforward shared all the rights and all the duties of the citizens of the older States. As with Columbus and the egg, the expedient seems obvious enough nowadays; but then it was so novel that a couple of generations had to pass before we ourselves thoroughly grasped all its features. At last we grew to accept as axiomatic the two facts of national union and local and personal freedom. As whatever is axiomatic seems commonplace, we now tend to accept what has been accomplished as a mere matter-of-course incident, of no great moment. The very completeness with which the vitally important task has been done almost blinds us to the extraordinary nature of the achievement.

"You, the men of Colorado, and above all, the older among those whom I am now addressing, have been engaged in doing the great typical work of our people. Save only the preservation of the Union itself, no other task has been so important as the conquest and settlement of the West. This conquest and settlement has been the stupendous feat of our race for the century that has just closed. It stands supreme among all such feats. The same kind of thing has been in Australia and Canada, but upon a less important scale, while the Russian advance in Siberia has been incomparably slower. In all the history of mankind there is nothing that quite parallels the way in which our people have filled a vacant continent with self-governing commonwealths, knit into one nation. And of all this marvelous history perhaps the most wonderful portion is that which deals with the way in which the Pacific coast and the Rocky Mountains were settled.

"The men who founded these communities showed practically by their life-work that it is indeed the spirit of adventure which is the maker of commonwealths. Their traits of daring and hardihood and iron endurance are not merely indispensable traits for pioneers; they are also traits which must go to the make-up of every mighty and successful people. You and your fathers who built up the West did more even than you thought; for you shaped thereby the destiny of the whole republic, and as a necessary corollary profoundly influenced the course of events throughout the world. More and more as the years go by this republic will find its guidance in the thought and action of the

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West, because the conditions of development in the West have steadily tended to accentuate the peculiarly American characteristics of its people.

"There was scant room for the coward and the weakling in the ranks of the adventurous frontiersmen—the pioneer settlers who first broke up the wild prairie soil, who first hewed their way into the primeval forest, who guided their white-topped wagons across the endless leagues of Indian-haunted desolation, and explored every remote mountain-chain in the restless quest for metal wealth. Behind them came the men who completed the work they had roughly begun: who drove the great railroad systems over plain and desert and mountain pass; who stocked the teeming ranches, and under irrigation saw the bright green of the alfalfa and the yellow of the golden stubble supplant the gray of the sage-bush desert; who have built great populous cities—cities in which every art and science of civilization are carried to the highest point—on tracts which, when the nineteenth century had passed its meridian, were still known only to the grim trappers and hunters and the red lords of the wilderness with whom they waged eternal war.

"Such is the record of which we are so proud. It is a record of men who greatly dared and greatly did; a record of wanderings wider and more dangerous than those of the Vikings; a record of endless feats of arms, of victory after victory in the ceaseless strife waged against wild man and wild nature. The winning of the West was the great epic feat in the history of our race.

"We have then a right to meet to-day in a spirit of just pride in the past. But when we pay homage to the hardy, grim, resolute men who, with incredible toil and risk, laid deep the foundations of the civilization that we inherit, let us steadily remember that the only homage that counts is the homage of deeds—not merely of words. It is well to gather here to show that we remember what has been done in the past by the Western pioneers of our people, and that we glory in the greatness for which they prepared the way. But lip-loyalty by itself avails very little, whether it is expressed concerning a nation or an ideal. It would be a sad and evil thing for this country if ever the day came when we considered the great deeds of our forefathers as an excuse for our resting slothfully satisfied with what has been already done. On the contrary, they should be an inspiration and appeal, summoning us to show that we too have courage and strength; that we too are ready to dare greatly if the need arises; and, above all, that we are firmly bent upon that steady performance of every-day duty which, in the long run, is of such incredible worth in the formation of national character.

"The old iron days have gone, the days when the weakling died as the penalty of inability to hold his own in the rough warfare against his surroundings. We live in softer times. Let us see to it that, while we take advantage of every gentler and more humanizing tendency of the age, we yet preserve

the iron quality which made our forefathers and predecessors fit to do the deeds they did. It will of necessity find a different expression now, but the quality itself remains just as necessary as ever. Surely you men of the West, you men who with stout heart, cool head, and ready hand have wrought out your own success and built up these great new commonwealths, surely you need no reminder of the fact that if either man or nation wishes to play a great part in the world there must be no dallying with the life of lazy ease. In the abounding energy and intensity of existence in our mighty democratic republic there is small space indeed for the idler, for the luxury-loving man who prizes ease more than hard, triumph-crowned effort.

"We hold work not as a curse but as a blessing, and we regard the idler with scornful pity. It would be in the highest degree undesirable that we should all work in the same way or at the same things, and for the sake of the real greatness of the nation we should in the fullest and most cordial way recognize the fact that some of the most needed work must, from its very nature, be unremunerative in a material sense. Each man must choose so far as the conditions allow him the path to which he is bidden by his own peculiar powers and inclinations. But if he is a man he must in some way or shape do a man's work. If, after making all the effort that his strength of body and of mind permits, he yet honorably fails, why, he is still entitled to a certain share of respect because he has made the effort. But if he does not make the effort, or if he makes it half-heartedly and recoils from the labor, the risk, or the irksome monotony of his task, why, he has forfeited all right to our respect, and has shown himself a mere cumberer on the earth. It is not given to us all to succeed, but it is given to us all to strive manfully to deserve success.

"We need then the iron qualities that must go with true manhood. We need the positive virtues of resolution, of courage, of indomitable will, of power to do without shrinking the rough work that must always be done, and to persevere through the long days of slow progress or of seeming failure which always come before any final triumph, no matter how brilliant. But we need more than these qualities. This country cannot afford to have its sons less than men; but neither can it afford to have them other than good men. If courage and strength and intellect are unaccompanied by the moral purpose, the moral sense, they become merely forms of expression for unscrupulous force and unscrupulous cunning. If the strong man has not in him the lift toward lofty things his strength makes him only a curse to himself and to his neighbor. All this is true in private life, and it is no less true in public life. If Washington and Lincoln had not had in them the whipcord fiber of moral and mental strength, the soul that steels itself to endure disaster unshaken and with grim resolve to wrest victory from defeat, then the one could not have founded, nor the other preserved, our mighty federal Union. The least

touch of flabbiness, of unhealthy softness, in either would have meant ruin for this nation, and therefore the downfall of the proudest hope of mankind. But no less is it true that had either been influenced by self-seeking ambition, by callous disregard of others, by contempt for the moral law, they would have dashed us down into the black gulf of failure. Woe to all of us if ever as a people we grow to condone evil because it is successful. We can no more afford to lose social and civic decency and honesty than we can afford to lose the qualities of courage and strength. It is the merest truism to say that the nation rests upon the individual, upon the family—upon individual manliness and womanliness, using the words in their widest and fullest meaning.

“To be a good husband or good wife, a good neighbor and friend, to be hard-working and upright in business and social relations, to bring up many healthy children—to be and to do all this is to lay the foundations of good citizenship as they must be laid. But we cannot stop even with this. Each of us has not only his duty to himself, his family, and his neighbors, but his duty to the State and to the nation. We are in honor bound each to strive according to his or her strength to bring ever nearer the day when justice and wisdom shall obtain in public life as in private life. We cannot retain the full measure of our self-respect if we cannot retain pride in our citizenship. For the sake not only of ourselves but of our children and our children’s children we must see that this nation stands for strength and honesty both at home and abroad. In our internal policy we cannot afford to rest satisfied until all that the Government can do has been done to secure fair dealing and equal justice as between man and man. In the great part which hereafter, whether we will or not, we must play in the world at large, let us see to it that we neither do wrong nor shrink from doing right because the right is difficult; that on the one hand we inflict no injury, and that on the other we have a due regard for the honor and the interest of our mighty nation; and that we keep unsullied the renown of the flag which beyond all others of the present time or of the ages of the past stands for confident faith in the future welfare and greatness of mankind.”

Much has been well and handsomely said of the literary life and works, and distinction in historical writing of the President of the United States. It is saying too much, however, to assert as has been done frequently Roosevelt is the only President who could be described as a literary man. The Adamses and the Harrisons were of literary accomplishments. The elder Harrison contributed to the schoolbooks and Benjamin Harrison leaves two volumes of good work, besides his speeches and his reports of the Supreme Court of Indiana.

Jefferson and Madison were distinctly literary men, and Abraham Lincoln’s inaugural addresses and Gettysburg oration, are like grand old Hebrew poems.

The Memoirs of Grant are one of his monuments. They have the merit of masterly simplicity. Theodore Roosevelt is the first President who was a producer of books in the days of his youth. It is true that outside journalism, few literary men of our country have been important factors in public affairs.

In Germany, the great Central Power of Europe, the sword is greater than the pen in the construction and control of the system and machinery of the Government. The men, great in science and literature, as in art, live remote from the persons and policies of authority. Bismarck may be recognized as a lofty exception, for his was a towering intellect, and it was his nature to subordinate all with whom he came in contact, until the heir to the throne, which he had made imperial, accepted the imperious instructor too literally, and the architect of the Empire found he had builded stronger, and wiser, than he knew. It is within the recollection of men, students of history, for a generation that two men, whose earliest and greatest distinctions were in literature, were the masters of their countries—England and France. They were Disraeli and Thiers. Behind the latter was Lamertine, and the former, Gladstone. Disraeli, the romance writer, was a great practical politician. The literary men of France have been important in the life of the country, and the influence of literature, not chiefly journalistic, but more serious undertakings of composition, has largely persuaded the French people in both wisdom and folly. Madame de Stael and George Sand have had political effect, that was distinct from the element of emotion in womanhood. Eugene Sue, the novelist, wrote under the impression he was a politician as well as a novelist, and had social tendencies. In our country, Samuel L. Clemens has occasionally figured as the benevolent father of radical opinions; and William D. Howells, one of the most amiable and gentle of men, has a political imagination whose pleasing purposes are worthy of all praise. Napoleon III. whose imperial error was that he rubbed the fur of the French Tiger the wrong way, at the zenith of his power undertook to write the life of Julius Caesar, and opened it saying, "the truths of history are almost as sacred as those of religion."

The literary men of England have long been prone to take themselves seriously in politics, but the people have hardly seconded them in that disposition. Thomas Carlyle was not thought of either as a winner of the Derby or the Premier of the Empire; and Roseberry, the author of the last phases of Napoleon and winner of the Derby, is still largely in the confidence of the British public. John Morley was writing and publishing in monthly parts, the life of Oliver Cromwell, at the time Theodore Roosevelt was doing the same thing. Bulwer, the novelist, was a decoration of Parliament, but did not play the part of an imposing character. Tennyson's war songs made a commotion in the land exceeding that produced by Rudyard Kipling. Sir Walter

Scott was devoted to the Prince of Wales of his day, and wrote a huge life of Napoleon, to complete his downfall, but was neither statesman nor historian; and the greatest poet of England just now is the terror of those who "loaf around the throne," to borrow the language of another poet who was radical once, but has mellowed and is broader and kindlier, and the foremost of our diplomats because he had rare cultivation and training and the capability. Bryant, Lowell and Whittier were our poets and fiery politicians, but never sailed on "Oh ship of state!"

The literary centre of the country has, under the leadership of General Wallace, followed the flag and centre of population into the State of Indiana, but only Roosevelt could have cast a charm with his pen upon the Bad Lands of the Missouri, so that over the sources of the American Nile, the spell of enchantment lingers.

T. R.—12

CHAPTER XIV.

HIS RISE IN LEADERSHIP.

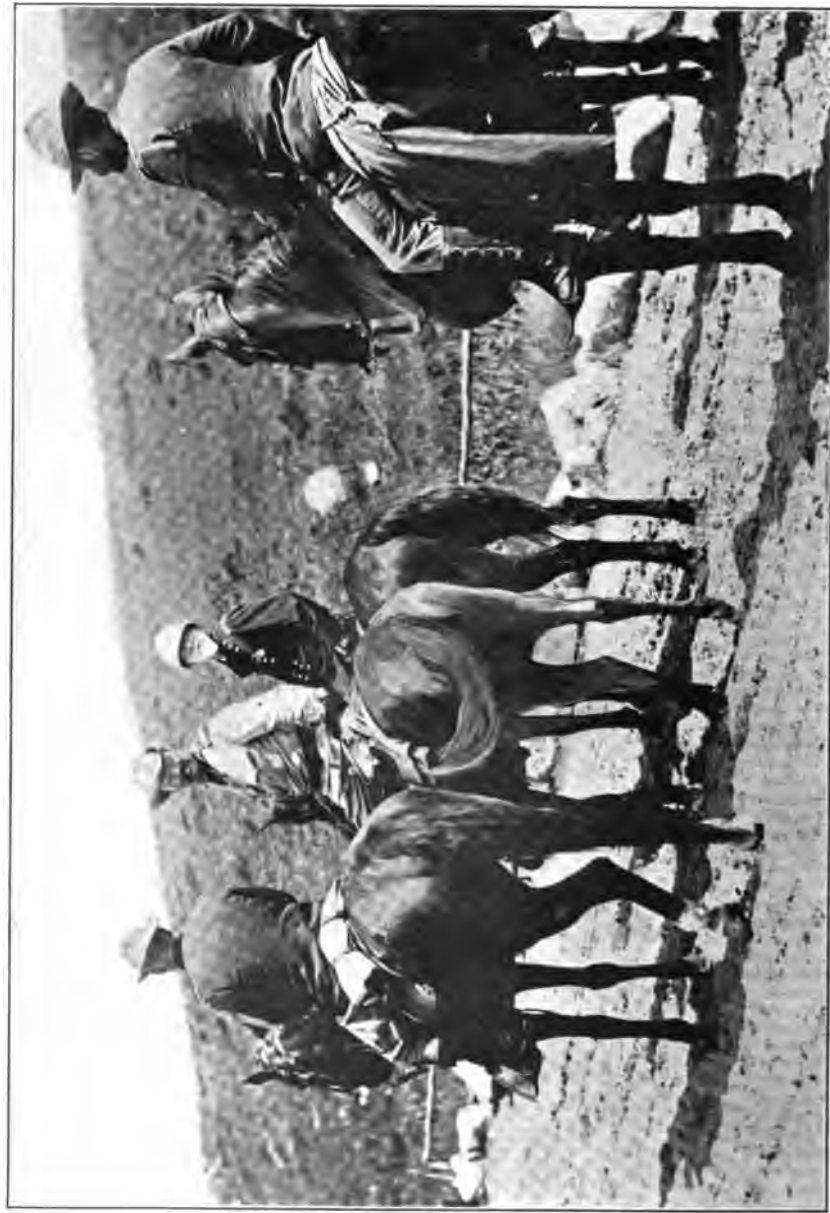
Led to and from Cuba—Paints Enchanting Picture of the Island—From Santiago to Albany—Vice-Presidential Notification of Nomination—Rough Rider Games at Oklahoma—Picnic with Bryan at Chicago.

ASSISTANT Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt, was in favor of war with Spain, that she might no more have a colonial system to abuse in the American continent; but he was not to be classed with the war whoopers in Congress, who believed the Key West Cuban dispatches, and had Gomez thundering forever at the gates of Havana, when he was five hundred miles away.

Spain was the type of a poor but proud country, and Cuba was her place for favorites; and the Philippines were in the same service, but second choice, and so far off we were not interfered with by the wars of insurrection there; and yet, the thousand islands between the South Pacific and the Sea of China, were of the ocean into which our Western progress had carried us. We had already Alaska and the Aleutian Archipelago, and were soon to complete our title to the Hawaiian group—the Paradise of the Pacific. One of the plagues affecting us through the misgovernment of Cuba, was the yellow fever, the direct result of unsanitary conditions and incompetent, greedy rulers. There had been four hundred years of Captain Generals, with but little variation. Spain had lost all her American continental possessions, but their independence was slow to develop capacity for self-government. The logic of history, the drift of the current of progress, the Westward march of the Empires that are imperial because great and free—the “manifest destiny” that was written in the land and reflected on the seas, told that presently the islands still held by Spain would remove, or have removed, the Spanish yoke.

There were politicians having association with our affairs, who were in a fury to lead in war cries, that they might be a conspicuity in the war party. The President of the United States was a soldier and a peace man, and had no ambition to be a war President. He believed there was danger of war, and hoped, until the massacre of the Maine, to keep peace. Then it was his first duty to restrain those who were hasty and headlong to come to blows with

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COL. ROOSEVELT AT CAMP WYKOFF, IN AUGUST, 1898.—THE OFFICER ON THE COLONEL'S RIGHT
IS MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER

Spain. European opinion was that the Spanish navy equaled our own, and possibly was superior to it; but we had become a naval power in the war of the sixties, to maintain a blockade of the Southern ports and aid in military operations. Great glory was won, and good will for the Navy gained. A series of Secretaries of the Navy had pride in our fleets, and we took up the manufacture of modern artillery at a time when the skilled labor and the art of armament was perfected in our shops. We had, like the jingoes in England, the men and ships and "guns and money, too," and though Spain did not know her decline or our advance, she was not in our class.

The Assistant Secretary of the Navy took upon himself the task of putting our fleets on the Atlantic Coast and Asiatic Station in condition for active and effective service. Others might have done as well, but he was the man who had the chance and improved it in well doing. A few words state the case—coal and powder to burn, and bolts and shells to fit the guns and guns with gunners behind them. When Dewey in the Manila battle got the report that the five-inch shells were almost all gone, it was not true. There was coal—the best that could be got—and powder and shot for target practice and for the battle ten thousand miles from Washington. We had power for the ships and for the guns. Our gunners had been educated to shoot by shooting. That is the royal road to marksmanship, and there is no other. The "hits" our men behind the guns made were what counted. When we fired, it was noticed that there was but little splashing in the water. The shots entered the ships that were the targets, and our ships of war were ships to fight with. Roosevelt knew when he had done what he could for the Navy. The President and Secretary of the Navy desired he should stay in the Navy office. He had, however, provided for the victories that swiftly came to pass. He was not a book-keeper or a theorist as to the distribution of parcels or one who waged war on a high stool. He passed from the Navy to the Army. As he had seen to the supplies for burning powder and coal to some purpose, he prepared to get into the Army with the war material he discovered and understood when "Winning the West." He appealed to the stalwarts of the States of the plains, and the mountains, from Texas to Montana, and as by magic enlisted and organized a regiment of war material such as is possessed by no other people—characteristic Cossacks, and more effective fighters. He might have claimed to have discovered a standing army that did not require an act of Congress. The modern requirements of soldiers ready to go anywhere and do all that can be done, are mobility, hardihood, marksmanship, shifty in doing the best that is possible with slender stores, in taking care of supplies, and of themselves. Lives of hardship harden strong men. The Rough Riders had all the qualifications for warriors, and though they lost their specialty when dismounted, they were brave, quick, keen and self-reliant. They have, in the

expert opinion of the military nations of the earth, re-inforced our Regular army and doubled its strength, by their very existence and availability. There could be twenty-five regiments of such men put into the field, if we had a sudden call to arms. Some months ago the President of France had forty thousand French cavalry gallop before the Czar. There was a deep roar as if an earthquake thundered by, and it was indeed a stirring spectacle. Fancy twenty thousand Rough Riders from the plains at full speed on the stage of prairies framed in mountains worthy the mighty pageantry of "war's magnificently stern array," men and horses that would surpass the Arabs and their chargers. The long range rifle has interfered with the tactics of the "shock" of cavalry; but this the Rough Rider would understand to be like the rush of a column of myriads of buffalo, whose onset was that of a cyclone, and given such a mass of fiery valor, rolling, monstrous—where is the foe that could stand before us?

Roosevelt's men in the advance, under the fire of invisible riflemen, knew that the way to do business was to go into the fire, and their Colonel was there where the Mauser bullets were chirruping like a swarm of crickets.

The battle won, the Spanish forces captured, two fleets and two armies of Spain sunk and surrendered, the next thing was that our braves should be saved from the pestilence; and Roosevelt appeared again as a leader, and the army was rescued from the fever and the awaiting hospitable graves.

The same energy that flung the troops into Cuba and won there, did not hold the army in the plague-stricken village and hideous jungles, or make the vain attempt to move them from place to place in Cuba, for each march would have been a procession of death. The return movement from Santiago to Montauk, was done by strategy, commendable as that which landed a force able to do the work cut out for it near Santiago. It was a picturesque country, into which the fortunes of war had thrown our troops. There is no brighter, better picture of Cuba than President Roosevelt has drawn in these glowing words:

"The surroundings of the city of Santiago are very grand. The circling mountains rise sheer and high. The plains are threaded by rapid winding brooks and are dotted here and there with quaint villages, curiously picturesque from their combining traces of an outworn old-world civilization with new and raw barbarism. The tall, graceful, feathery bamboos rise by the water's edge and elsewhere, even on the mountain-crests, where the soil is wet and rank enough; and the splendid royal palms and cocoanut palms tower high above the matted green jungle. Generally the thunder-storms came in the afternoon, but once I saw one at sunrise, driving from the high mountain valleys toward us. It was a very beautiful and almost terrible sight; for the sun rose behind the storm, and shone through the gusty rifts, lighting the mountain-crests here

and there, while the plain below lay shrouded in the lingering light. The angry, level rays edged the dark clouds with crimson, and turned the down-pour into sheets of golden rain; in the valleys the glimmering mists were tinted every wild hue; and the remotest heavens were lit with flaming glory. One day General Lawton, General Wood and I, with Ferguson and poor Tiffany, went down the bay to visit Morro Castle. The shores were beautiful, especially where there were groves of palms and of the scarlet-flower tree, and the castle itself, on a jutting headland overlooking the sea and guarding the deep, narrow entrance to the bay, showed just what it was, the splendid relic of a vanished power and a vanished age. We wandered all through it, among the castellated battlements, and in the dungeons, where we found hideous rusty implements of torture, and looked at the guns, some modern and some very old. It had been little hurt by the bombardment of the ships. Afterward I had a swim, not trusting much to the shark stories."

When Colonel Roosevelt returned home from the war, of course, the war was over. No one had been lost by the change of air, water, food and faces, and thousands saved. The people were warm in their welcome, and he was soon in great request for the office of Governor, and presently it was seen by those opposed that they must take the rising man or sink themselves. He made a striking campaign and was inaugurated Governor without being mortgaged. His administration of the Gubernatorial office was stirring, and he did not attempt the impossible task of pleasing everybody. He was himself at his best as Governor, and his record is one that will command respect in proportion as it is read. The best history of his public principles, and evidence of the vigor of his understanding and the processes of his mind, are in the volumes of his Public Papers. He left the office of Governor, as other positions which he occupied and outgrew in their turn, not because he had no more to do there, but because he was wanted to go up higher, where he could do more. He was nominated for the Vice-Presidency, and there was great interest in his part in the campaign. He made two wide, sweeping Western tours, having an early-in-the-summer engagement to meet his old friends of the Southwest at Oklahoma. July 6th, he was at Canton, Ohio, and had a conference with President McKinley, having met Senator Hanna in Cleveland. He said to a reporter about his interview with Mr. Hanna: "I have been conferring with the Senator about the itinerary that we shall follow out this fall. It has been determined that, if possible, I shall visit all the Rocky Mountain States."

It was made known by the newspaper correspondents that on the Oklahoma excursion the Westerners received New York's Governor with open arms and vivid demonstrations of their admiration. The Western trip of Governor Roosevelt had many instructive aspects and nowhere was he more enthusiastically received and energetically applauded than in Oklahoma City. The

Governors of Kansas and of Oklahoma met him on the train some distance east of the city, and escorted him there. The centre of interest was reached just a few minutes before 12 o'clock Monday night, and the reception at the station was a rousing one. The Westerners shouted out their sentiments of welcome and good cheer in phrases in which they did not study to be polite so much as to be hearty and to the point, and the hero of the occasion was equal to it. After making a short speech at the station, the Governor was escorted to the Lee Hotel, headquarters of those who had his reception in charge. His body guard consisted of a big troop of Rough Riders and cow punchers, and they "whooped it up to beat the band," as they termed it. At the hotel another reception was held, where the Governor was introduced to many. On Tuesday morning he was up early and led the parade, astride a jet black stallion. All along the line of march he was cheered most heartily by the throngs which lined the streets. Returning to his car for luncheon, the Governor drove with his escort of Rough Riders to the fair grounds, where an exhibition of Wild West sports was given. The Governor took a keen interest in the sports, and the accurate technical knowledge of them all which he displayed, as well as the deep interest he evidently took in them, endeared him more than ever to the people, who, when he left them on Tuesday night by train for St. Joe, were exceedingly loath to lose him. They told him he was in many ways all right to be Vice-President. He returned home by way of Chicago and Indianapolis. This dispatch was sent from the capital of Indiana: "Indianapolis, July 7. It was as Chairman of the National Civil Service Commission that Theodore Roosevelt first became known to the people of this city. When Mr. Harrison was inducted into the Presidential office, he made Roosevelt a member of the Commission, and his colleagues selected him for Chairman."

July 12th it was announced President McKinley would not make speeches during the campaign, and there was increased interest in what the candidate for Vice-President would do.

July 13 Governor Roosevelt was at home, and officially notified of his nomination for Vice-President. The Governor received the news on the porch of his house, while standing upon the spot where he stood two years before, when he learned that he had been nominated for the chief executive office of the State. Senator Wolcott was Chairman of the Committee of Notification. The formalities were few. The speech of the Chairman was relieved of perfunctory flavor by the wit and cleverness of the speaker, who maintained the conversational tone. There was real business and a pleasant humor that brightened the few minutes he spoke, saying:

"Governor Roosevelt: The pleasant duty has devolved upon this committee, appointed by the National Republican Convention and representing every State in the Union, to make known to you officially the action of the Conven-

tion, and to hand to you a copy of the platform it adopted, which embodies the principles of the party. The representatives of the Republican party, in convention assembled, unanimously and spontaneously selected you as the candidate of the party at the next election for the high and dignified office of Vice-President of the United States. You were so selected and named through no wish of your own, but because the Convention believed that you, among all the Republicans in the land, were best fitted and adapted to be the associate of our President in the important and stirring campaign upon which we were entering. The Convention realized that you were needed in the great Empire State, whose Executive you now are, and whose people would delight still further to honor you, but it believed that your path of duty lay for the future in the field of National usefulness. You are still a young man, as years are counted; but the country knows more of you than of the most of its citizens. You were identified, and will ever be associated, with those efforts toward reform in the Civil Service which command the approval of intelligent men of all political parties. Your stirring love of adventure has made you a more familiar figure in Western camps and on Western plains than on the avenues of your native city. Your sterling Americanism has led you to the mastery of our earlier history, and you have told us of the winning of the West with a charm and a spirit that have made us all better lovers of our country; while your tales of Western hunting and adventure have filled the breast of every lad in the land with envy and emulation; and whatever doubts may have existed in the past, now that you are our candidate, they will be true, or believed to be true, by every good Republican. There is no man whose privilege it was to know you and to associate with you while you were Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley's appointment, who is not eager to testify to the great ability and fidelity which characterized your incumbency of that office. Of your service to our country during the late war with Spain, it is not necessary for me to speak. Your name will be ever identified with the heroic achievements of our Army, and your warmest friends and most devoted admirers are the gallant band of Rough Riders whom you led to victory. This bright and glorious record, however, did not lead that great Convention at Philadelphia to insist upon you as its candidate, although it fills with pride the heart of every true American. The Republican party has chosen you because, from your earliest manhood until to-day, in whatever post you have been called upon to fill, and notably during your two years of splendid service as Chief Executive of the State of New York, you have everywhere and at all times stood for that which was clean and uplifting, and against everything that was sordid and base. You have shown the people of this country that a political career and good citizenship could go hand in hand, and that devotion to the public welfare was consistent with party membership

and party organization. There is not a young man in these United States who has not found in your life and influence an incentive to better things and higher ideals. With President McKinley you will lead our ticket to victory; for you have both been tested, and in your honor, your patriotism, and your civic virtues, the American people have pride and confidence."

Senator Wolcott's address and the candidate's reply of acceptance were of like brevity, and did not dwell upon party questions or matters political. The ceremony occupied less than fifteen minutes. In accepting the nomination, the Governor said:

"Mr. Chairman: I accept the honor conferred upon me, with the keenest and deepest appreciation of what it means, and above all, of the responsibility that goes with it. Everything that it is in my power to do will be done to secure the re-election of President McKinley, to whom it has been given in this crisis of the National history to stand for and embody the principles which lie closest to the heart of every American worthy of the name. This is much more than a mere party contest. We stand at the parting of the ways, and the people have now to decide whether they shall go forward along the path of prosperity and high honor abroad or whether they will turn their backs upon what has been done during the last three years and a quarter; whether they will plunge this country into an abyss of misery, or, what is worse than even misery and disaster, of shame."

As Governor Roosevelt ended his speech he was loudly applauded, and while bowing his acknowledgments, he recollected that he had something else to say. "Here, 'Ned!'" he cried to Senator Wolcott, as he held up his hand for silence, "I want to say one word more. It is not to the National Committee, but to my friends—friends of my own State, who are here. I want to say to them how I appreciate seeing so many of them here to-day. I want to say I am more than honored and pleased at having been made a candidate for Vice-President on the National ticket, but you can not imagine how badly I feel at leaving the men with whom I have endeavored and worked for civic decency and righteousness and honesty in New York."

The next appearance of Governor Roosevelt was at St. Paul, Minnesota, July 18th, 1900. The Governor was greeted with heartfelt enthusiasm by Republican clubs. His speech set forth the fallacies of the Democratic platform; anti-expansion a purely Chinese policy. We quote:

"St. Paul, Minn., July 17. Prominent Republican leaders from all over the country filled the spacious Auditorium to-day, and signaled the opening of the twelfth National Convention of the League of Republican Clubs by giving free vent to Republican sentiments and Republican enthusiasm. The fact that it is a Presidential year has served to attract large delegations from nearly every State and Territory of the Union, and the attendance is the largest in the his-

tory of the league conventions. As Roosevelt was named the speaker of the evening, the great crowd came to its feet, and six minutes of cheers and applause swept the hall. When finally he was able to make himself heard he returned thanks for the reception that had been tendered him here to-day. Especially, he thanked the Roosevelt Club for its choice of name and a uniform. He was pleased at the honor, he said, for it was a club of young men, and young men stood for much. He spoke then for decency and efficiency in public life, for courage in carrying out what one believed. He had no use for timid persons. Public officials should be honest, brave and be endowed with the saving grace of common sense. These were needed in public just as much as in private life. He took pleasure and pride in addressing such a gathering, as it 'stands for just such honesty, courage and common sense.'

"Governor Roosevelt continued: 'Mr. President and Gentlemen: We have come here to begin the work of a campaign more vital to American interests than any that has taken place since the close of the Civil War. We appeal not only to Republicans, but to all good citizens who are Americans in fact as well as in name, to help us in re-electing President McKinley. It was, indeed, of infinite importance to elect him four years ago. Yet the need is even greater now. Every reason then obtained in his favor obtains now, and many more have been added. Four years ago the success of the Populistic Democracy would have meant fearful misery, fearful disaster at home; it would have meant the shame that is worse even than misery and disaster. To-day it would mean all this, and, in addition, the immeasurable disgrace of abandoning the proud position we have taken, of flinching from the great work we have begun. President McKinley has more than made good all that he has promised, or that was promised on his behalf, and as the smoke clears away, we see how utterly trivial are the matters because of which his Administration has been criticized, when compared with the immense substantial gains for American honor and interest which under the Administration have been brought about. We appealed for President McKinley before, asserting what he would do if President from our knowledge of what he had done in lesser positions. Now we appeal for him, asking that the promise of a second term be judged by the performance of his first, and pledging that the wonderful work so triumphantly begun in his first term, shall in his second be carried to an even more triumphant conclusion.'"

July 13th, the Governor saw Senator Hanna at Cleveland and made arrangements for the special train speech-making tour. He and Senator Platt went to the Republican National headquarters to have talks with Senator Hanna about the work of the campaign. They did not go or leave there together, having had no arrangements to meet. The Governor wanted to know when he was to begin making speeches in the campaign. He arrived

at the headquarters about 11 A. M., and went away a few minutes after noon, having been told that he would not be asked to begin a speechmaking trip until September. Senator Platt appeared at the headquarters soon after the Governor had departed, and talked with Senator Hanna and other leaders there more than an hour.

Senator Hanna arrived at the National headquarters, accompanied from Elberon by Cornelius N. Bliss, the treasurer of the National Committee, and conferred with Senator N. B. Scott, Joseph H. Manley, Frederick S. Gibbs, and other members of the committee in charge of campaign work. Governor Roosevelt entered the headquarters in company with Colonel Youngs, his Secretary, and was greeted by many politicians, but he was in a hurry, and was soon shown into Senator Hanna's room where the session was continued.

After luncheon the Governor went up to the County Headquarters, to see General Francis V. Greene. Asked about a report that he had come to the city to consult a throat specialist, the Governor said: "I did not see a doctor to-day, but I am going to see Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis later in the week. I am as well as can be, and as strong as a bull moose, but my voice gets ridiculously husky when I make a speech, and I need some treatment of the throat. I think I injured my voice making speeches in the campaign two years ago."

Governor Roosevelt left the city soon after 4 P. M., returning to his home in Oyster Bay. "I don't expect to be anything but a private citizen during the month of August," he said; and rational advantage was taken of the intermission, but close watch kept for the month with the letter R in it—a consideration certainly for a citizen of Oyster Bay.

There was, however, something arranged in the way of recreation for the Governor, presumably that he might not be stale, as the sportsmen say, when he entered upon the regular work laid out for him. The Chicago engagement was to meet William J. Bryan and attend the Labor Day picnic. It was lucky this was a pleasure party. The date was September 3rd, and it was agreeable to know that Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan, under a flag of truce and non-partizanship, spoke to the laboring men of Chicago that day of the progress of labor, of its relation to citizenship, and the duties in connection with liberty and good government. Fifteen thousand men and women gathered in Electric Park, listened and applauded with personal respect and divided allegiance.

Neither of the leaders missed the inspiration of fiery American political enthusiasm, and the cheering was all the louder, the applause all the more vigorous, and the free and easy tributes all the more exciting, because given in the open air, with nothing but a board fence in the distance, and an awning slung between trees and tent poles to keep the rest of the world away. It was "Hurrah for Teddy!" and "Hello, Teddy, old boy!" the first part of the after-

noon; and it was "What's the matter with Bryan?" repeated over and over again by the same people and around the same platform, a very short time later. It was "Do just what you want to, Teddy," when the one spoke; and "Anything you do is all right," when the other spoke. Both had to fight their way behind policemen when they came to the stand, both were nearly pulled off the stand entirely before they began to speak, by the people who wanted to get as near them as possible, and both had to run a gauntlet of outstretched hands and smiling faces before they escaped from the park and made their way to the trains that were to take them to the opening of their campaign tours. The two leaders sat side by side earlier in the day on the reviewing stand in the Auditorium Hotel balcony, while they watched the ranks of organized labor file past, when they had taken luncheon together in the hotel, as guests of the labor organizations, accompanied by Yates and Alschuler, the candidates of their two parties for the Governorship of Illinois, and by some of their political lieutenants.

At Electric Park, half a dozen miles from the hotel, the crowds of laboring men had been gathering long before the two leaders were ready even to begin their luncheon. They filled all the seats, not reserved for guests, under the awning, and sat patiently waiting for the speakers to come. They crowded around the speaking stand, they stood up on every railing in sight; and men by the dozen climbed the surrounding trees and hung onto swaying branches, unmindful of the sun in their eyes. It was 1:45 o'clock, however, over an hour late, before Governor Roosevelt's carriage was sighted coming along the driveway. The big cheer that greeted him was enough to have driven all the birds in the neighborhood across the Chicago river. With Graeme Stewart he made his way to the stand and got more cheers.

When the Governor spoke it was to give his hearers such an analysis of the progress of labor, the development of labor legislation and the power of the laboring men in harmonious work with the rest of society for the welfare of society, as sank deep into the thoughts of all his auditors.

"We have," he said, "exactly the same right to regulate the conditions of life and work in factories and tenement houses that we have to regulate fire escapes and the like in other houses. In certain communities the existence of a thoroughly efficient department of factory inspection is just as essential as the establishment of a fire department. How far we shall go in regulating the hours of labor, or the liabilities of employers, is a matter of expediency, and each case must be determined on its own merits, exactly as it is a matter of expediency to determine what so-called 'public utilities' the community shall itself own, and what ones it shall leave to private or corporate ownership, securing to itself merely the right to regulate. Sometimes one course is expedient, sometimes the other.

"In my own State during the last half dozen years we have made a number of notable strides in labor legislation, and, with very few exceptions, the laws have worked well. This is, of course, partly because we have not tried to do too much and have proceeded cautiously, feeling our way; and, while always advancing, and taking each step in advance only when we were satisfied that the step already taken was in the right direction. To invite reaction by unregulated zeal is never wise, and is sometimes fatal.

"In New York our action has been along two lines. In the first place we determined that as an employer of labor the State should set a good example to other employers. We do not intend to permit the people's money to be squandered or to tolerate any work that is not the best. But we think that while rigidly insisting upon good work, we should see that there is fair play in return. Accordingly, we have adopted an eight-hour law for the State employees and for all contractors who do State work, and we have also adopted a law requiring that the fair market rate of wages shall be given. I am glad to say that both measures have so far, on the whole, worked well. Of course, there have been individual difficulties, mostly where the work is intermittent, as, for instance, among lock tenders on the canals, where it is very difficult to define what eight hours' work means. But on the whole, the result has been good. The practical experiment of working men for eight hours has been advantageous to the State. Poor work is always dear, whether poorly paid or not, and good work is always well worth having; and it is a mere question of expediency, aside even from the question of humanity, we find that we can obtain the best work by paying fair wages and permitting the work to go on only for a reasonable time.

"The other side of our labor legislation has been that affecting the wage workers who do not work for the State. Here we have acted in three different ways. Through the Bureau of Labor Statistics, through the Board of Mediation and Arbitration, and through the Department of Factory Inspection.

"During the last two years the Board of Mediation and Arbitration has been especially successful. Not only have they succeeded in settling many strikes after they were started, but they have succeeded in preventing a much larger number of strikes before they got fairly under way. Where possible, it is always better to mediate before the strike begins than to try to arbitrate when the fight is on and both sides have grown stubborn and bitter.

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics has done more than merely gather the statistics; for by keeping in close touch with all the leading labor interests it has kept them informed on countless matters that were really of vital concern to them. Incidentally, one pleasing feature of the work of this bureau has been the steady upward tendency shown during the last four years both in amount of wages received and in the quantity and steadiness of employment. No other

man has been benefited so much as the wage worker by the growth in prosperity during these years.

"Work in itself, so far from being any hardship, is a great blessing, provided, always, it is carried on under conditions which preserve a man's self-respect and which allow him to develop his own character and rear his children so that he and they, as well as the whole community of which he and they are part, may steadily move onward and upward. The idler, rich or poor, is at best a useless and is generally a noxious member of the community. To whom much has been given, from him much is rightfully expected, and a heavy burden of responsibility rests upon the man of means to justify by his actions the social conditions which have rendered it possible for him or his forefathers to accumulate and to keep the property he enjoys. He is not to be excused if he does not render full measure of service to the State and to the community at large. There are many ways in which this service can be rendered; in art, in literature, in philanthropy; as a statesman, as a soldier; but in some way he is in honor bound to render it; so that benefit may accrue to his brethren who have been less favored by fortune than he has been. In short, he must work, and work not only for himself, but for others. If he does not work, he fails not only in his duty to the rest of the community, but he fails signally in his duty to himself. There is no need of envying the idle. Ordinarily, we can afford to treat them with impatient contempt; for when they fail to do their duty, they fail to get from life the highest and keenest pleasures that life can give.

"Before us loom industrial problems, vast in their importance and their complexity. The last half century has been one of extraordinary social and industrial development. The changes have been far-reaching; some of them for good and some of them for evil. It is not given to the wisest of us to see into the future with absolute clearness. No man can be certain that he has found the entire solution of this infinitely great and intricate problem, and yet each man of us, if he would do his duty, must strive manfully so far as in him lies to help bring about that solution. It is not as yet possible to say what shall be the exact limit of influence allowed the State or what limit shall be set to that right of individual initiative so dear to the hearts of the American people. All we can say is that the need has been shown on the one hand for action by the people in their collective capacity through the State, in many matters; that in other matters much can be done by associations of different groups of individuals, as in trades unions and similar organizations; and that in other matters it remains now as true as ever that final success will be for the man who trusts in the struggle only to his cool head, his brave heart, and his strong right arm. There are spheres in which the State can properly act, and spheres in which a comparatively free field must be given to individual initiative.

"Though conditions of life have grown so puzzling in their complexity, though the changes have been so vast, yet we may remain absolutely sure of one thing; that now, as ever in the past, and as it ever will be in the future, there can be no substitute for the elemental virtues, for the elemental qualities to which we allude when we speak of a man as not only a good man, but as emphatically a man. We can build up the standard of individual citizenship and individual well being, we can raise the national standard and make it what it can and shall be made, only by each of us steadfastly keeping in mind that there can be no substitute for the world-old, humdrum, commonplace qualities of truth, justice and courage, thrift, industry, common sense and genuine sympathy with and fellow feeling for others."

CHAPTER XV.

PRESIDENT'S POLICY OF PROBLEMS.

A Study of Governor Roosevelt's Message to the Legislature of New York Covering the Latest and Greatest Modern Questions,—Taxation, Restraint of Trusts, All Phases of Labor Issues—Corporations, Municipal Ownership, the Boxing Law.

ALMOST as great an impression was made on the public by the coincidence in time and sentiment of the Pan-American Exposition speech of President McKinley, destined to be his last formal address—and the Labor Day speech of Vice-President Roosevelt earlier in the same week, as by the few words spoken by the Vice-President before taking the oath prescribed for the President. The unity of opinion and purpose between the President called away and his successor, was most satisfactory, and while the comfort of the people was aided at home, the credit of the country was confirmed and strengthened away from home.

Well as the people knew Roosevelt, they were not acquainted as they desired with his views of the later questions arisen in our country; but he had, in his first message as Governor of New York, defined his position in one of the most forcible and clean-cut communications, an officer high in responsibility ever wrote for the general public. The greater of Roosevelt's messages to his State foreshadowed his first Presidential message, except in relation to the September tragedy and dealing with the anarchists. The date of the Governor's message was, Albany, January 3, 1900. The Governor began by paying this compliment to the State Government preceding:

"It is a very genuine pleasure to congratulate the Legislature upon the substantial sum of achievement in legislation and administration of the past year. Laws of the utmost usefulness to the community have been enacted, and there has been a steady betterment throughout the year in the methods and results of the administration of the Government."

The first subject was that of the canals. It would not have been the way of Roosevelt if any other question than that of the canals had taken first place, for that was the one that was "burning." There was a Canal Commission at work but it had not completed its labors and the subject was so vast and vital it was evident the Commissioners would not have time to consider the canal prob-

lem in the way that was desirable, therefore the Governor appointed the committee headed by General Francis V. Greene to examine the whole system. General Greene was associated with Mr. Frank S. Witherbee, of Port Henry; Major Symons, of the United States Army; Mr. John P. Scatchard, of Buffalo, and ex-Mayor George E. Greene, of Binghamton. Of these the Governor said: "They are gentlemen whose lives are filled with exacting duties; yet they have given, unpaid, months of their valuable time and their best thought and effort to the solution to these problems. Such disinterested expert service is of incalculable value to the State, and makes it greatly the debtor to the men rendering the service. The conduct of these two commissions, and of the Commission on the Educational Bill, emphasizes one of the most pleasing features of our public life, viz., the readiness with which able and high minded private citizens will do special public work when they are convinced of its necessity."

The Governor added: "These were the only two lines on which action would be taken. On both of them action was taken. On the one hand, the investigation was so conducted as to leave no room for any further question as to criminal proceedings; and, on the other hand, the reformation in the methods of management has been so complete as to leave nothing to be done save to continue and perfect the new system."

And "The new Superintendent has managed the canals with the care and skill which would be expected in a private business enterprise. It is unnecessary to say that the highest standard of integrity has been demanded. There has been no toleration whatever of inefficiency, and no retention of any man who filled a needless position or who filled unworthily a necessary position."

These sweeping statements were sustained by the figures. The canal matter was one involving millions.

There was another question that might have been said to call attention to itself by spontaneous combustion, that of taxation; and as it will interest the whole country now to know what the President of the United States said then to the people of one State, we reproduce it in full.

"The whole problem of taxation is now, as it has been at almost all times and in almost all places, one of extreme difficulty. It has become more and more evident in recent years that existing methods of taxation, which worked well enough in a simple state of society, are not adequate to secure justice when applied to the conditions of our complex and highly specialized modern industrial development. At present the real estate owner is certainly bearing an excessive proportion of the tax burden. Men who have made a special study of the theory of taxation and men who have had long experience in its practical application are alike in conflict among themselves as to the best general form. Absolute equality, absolute justice in matters of taxation will probably never

be realized; but we can approximate it much more closely than at present. The last Legislature most wisely appointed a committee to consider the feasibility of a thorough and far-reaching change in our tax laws; and there is good reason to believe that their forthcoming report will present a scheme which will receive the support of substantially all classes of taxpayers, and which will be of such a character as to commend itself to the most careful consideration of your body upon broad lines.

"The law must not only be correct in the abstract; it must work well in the concrete. Experience shows that certain classes or symbols of property which in theory ought to be taxed can not under the present practice be reached. Some kind of taxes are so fertile in tempting to perjury and sharp dealing that they amount to taxes on honesty—the last quality on which we should impose a needless burden. Moreover, where the conditions and complexity of life vary widely as between different communities, the desirability and possibility of certain taxes may seem to be so different that it is hard to devise a common system that will work. If possible the State tax should be levied on classes of property and in a manner which will render it collectible with entire fairness in all sections of the community, as for instance the corporation or collateral inheritance tax is now collected. So far as possible we should divorce the State and municipal taxes, so as to render unnecessary the annual equalization of values between the several counties which has proved so fertile a source of friction between the city and the country.

"There is a constant influx into New York State of capital oft-times previously incorporated under the laws of other States, and an increasing number of men of means from other parts of the country, non-residents of New York, come into this State to sojourn and to conduct and be at the head of various business enterprises which are drawn to New York as the financial centre of the whole country. This calls for legislation which shall provide, in a broad and fair spirit, for taxing foreign capital in this State, whether in corporate or individual form, exactly as we tax domestic capital doing business along the same lines.

"I call your attention to the fact that the great burden of taxation is local not State. In the large cities the heavy local charges are mainly due to the action of the local authorities themselves. For this the local authorities are, of course, responsible. But sometimes taxation is added to by legislative enactment.

"On certain points the failure of the tax laws has become so evident that it is possible to provide more or less complete remedies without waiting for a general scheme of reorganization. Again and again in recent years, this has been recognized, and through legislative exactment certain species of property which had escaped taxation have been made to pay their proper share of the

public burdens. The collateral inheritance tax offers a case in point. The corporation tax offers another. In all these matters of taxation, however, it is necessary to proceed with extreme caution, the path never being so simple and clear as the advocates of any particular measure invariably believe. Every wealthy corporation that perpetrates or is allowed to perpetrate a wrong helps to produce or inflame a condition of angry excitement against all corporations, which in its turn may in the end harm alike the honest and the dishonest agents of public service, and thereby do far-reaching damage to the whole body politic. Much of the outcry against wealth, against the men who acquire wealth, and against the means by which it is acquired, is blind, unreasoning and unjust; but in too many cases it has a basis of real abuses; and we must remember the very act of misconduct which affords any justification for this clamor is not only bad because of the wrong done, but also because the justification thus given inevitably strengthens movements which are in reality profoundly anti-social and anti-civic. Our laws should be so drawn as to protect and encourage corporations which do their honest duty by the public; and to discriminate sharply against those organized in a spirit of mere greed, or for improper speculative purposes.

"There is plenty of misconduct, plenty of selfish disregard of the rights of others, and especially of the weak. There is also plenty of honorable and disinterested effort to prevent such misconduct or to minimize its effects. Any rational attempt to prevent or counteract the evils, by legislation or otherwise, is deserving of hearty support; but it can not be too deeply impressed upon us that such attempt can result in permanent good only in proportion as they are made in a sane and wholesome spirit, as far removed as possible from what is hysterical or revolutionary. It is infinitely better when needed social and civic changes can be brought about as the result of natural and healthy growth than when they come with the violent dislocation and widespread wreck and damage inevitably attendant upon any movement which is revolutionary in its nature."

The next problem was the Franchise Tax. The Governor said of it:

"At the same time a change should never be shirked on the ground of its being radical, when the abuse has become flagrant and no other remedy appears possible. This was the case with the taxation of local franchises in this State. For years most of these franchises escaped paying their proper share of the public burdens. The last Legislature placed on the statute book a law requiring them to be treated as real estate for the purposes of taxation, the tax to be assessed and collected by the State Assessors for the benefit of the localities concerned. This marks an immense stride in advance. Of course, at first serious difficulties are sure to arise in enforcing it. The means for carrying it into effect are very inadequate. There may be delay before we get from

it the substantial additions to the revenue which will finally accrue, and there may be disappointment to the enthusiasts who are so apt to hope too much from such legislation. But it will undoubtedly add largely to the public revenues as soon as it is fairly in operation, and the amount thus added will increase steadily year by year. The principle which this law establishes has come to stay. There will doubtless have to be additional legislation from time to time to perfect the system as its shortcomings are made evident in actual practice. But the corporations owning valuable public franchises must pay their full and proper share of the public burdens.

"The franchise tax law is framed with the intent of securing exact and equal justice, no more and no less. It is not in any way intended as a means for persecuting or oppressing corporations. It is not intended to cut down legitimate dividends; still less to cut down wages or to prevent a just return for the far-sighted business skill of some captain of industry who has been able to establish a public service greatly to the advantage of the localities concerned, where before his time men of less business capacity had failed. But it is intended that property which derives its value from the grant of a privilege by the public, shall be taxed proportionately to the value of the privilege granted. In enforcing this law, much tact, patience, resolution and judgment will be needed. All these qualities the State Board of Tax Commissioners have thus far shown. Their salaries are altogether inadequate, for the new law has immensely increased not only their responsibilities, but their work. They should be given not only the needed increase for themselves, but also an appropriation for an additional number of clerks and experts.

"During the year 1899 not a single corporation has received at the hands of the State of New York one privilege of any kind, sort, or description, by law or otherwise, to which it was not entitled, and which was not in the public interest; nor has corporate influence availed against any measure which was in the public interest. At certain times, and in certain places, corporations have undoubtedly exerted a corrupting influence in political life; but in this State for this year it is absolutely true, as shown by the history of every measure that has come before the Legislature from the franchise tax down, that no corporate influence has been able to prevail against the interests of the public."

Next was the "problem" of "the State and public utilities" and the Governor struck deep into his subject as is his habit, in the first sentence:

"It has become more and more evident of late years that the State will have to act in its collective capacity as regards certain subjects which we have been accustomed to treat as matters affecting the private citizen only, and, furthermore, it must exercise an increasing and more rigorous control over other matters which it is not desirable that it should directly manage." He con-

tinued: "It is neither possible nor desirable to lay down a general hard and fast rule as to what this control should be in all cases. There is no possible reason in pure logic why a city, for instance, should supply them with gas, any more than there is why the general government should take charge of the delivery of letters but not of telegrams. On the other hand, pure logic has a very restricted application to actual social and civic life, and there is no possible reason for changing from one system to the other simply because the change would make our political system in theory more symmetrical. Obviously it is undesirable that the government should do anything that private individuals could do with better results to the community. Everything that tends to deaden individual initiative is to be avoided, and unless in a given case there is some very evident gain which will flow from State or municipal ownership, it should not be adopted. On the other hand, when private ownership entails grave abuses, and where the work is of a kind that can be performed with efficiency by the State or municipality acting in its collective capacity, no theory or tradition should interfere with our making the change. There is grave danger in attempting to establish invariable rules; indeed, it may be that each case will have to be determined upon its own merits. In one instance a private corporation may be able to do the work best. In another the State or city may do it best. In yet a third, it may be to the advantage of everybody to give free scope to the power of some individual captain of industry.

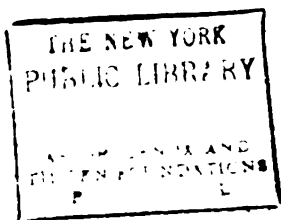
"On one point there must be no step backward. There is a consensus of opinion that New York must own its own water supply. And legislation permitting private ownership should be annulled."

The treatment of "Modern industrial conditions" followed in the Governor's striking style.

"Nothing needs closer attention, nothing deserves to be treated with more courage, caution, and sanity, than the relations of the State to corporate wealth, and indeed to vast individual wealth. For almost every gain there is a penalty, and the great strides in the industrial upbuilding of the country, which have on the whole been attended with marked benefit, have also been attended by no little evil. Great fortunes are usually made under very complex conditions both of effort and of surrounding, and the mere fact of the complexity makes it difficult to deal with the new conditions thus created. The contrast offered in a highly specialized industrial community between the very rich and the very poor is exceedingly distressing; and while under normal conditions the acquirement of wealth by an individual is necessarily of great incidental benefit to the community as a whole, yet this is by no means always the case. In our great cities there is plainly in evidence much wealth contrasted with much poverty, and some of the wealth has been acquired, or is used, in a manner for which there is no moral justification.



DISCUSSING THE "PROBLEMS" IN THE WEST



"A profound political and social thinker has recently written: 'Wealth which is expended in multiplying and elaborating real comforts or even in pleasures which produce enjoyment at all proportionate to their cost, will never incite serious indignation. It is the colossal waste of the means of human happiness in the most selfish and most vulgar forms of social advertisement and competition that gives a force to passions which menace the whole future of our civilization.' But in continuance this writer points out that the only effectual check lies in the law of public opinion. Any attempt to interfere by statute in moral questions of this kind, by fettering the freedom of individual action, would be injurious to a degree far greater than is the evil aimed at. Probably the large majority of the fortunes that now exist in this country have been amassed, not by injuring mankind, but as an incident to the conferring of great benefits on the community,—whatever the conscious purpose of those amassing them may have been. The occasional wrongs committed or injuries endured are on the whole far outweighed by the mass of good which has resulted. The true questions to be asked are: Has any given individual been injured by the acquisition of wealth by any man? Were the rights of that individual, if they have been violated, insufficiently protected by law? If so, these rights, and all similar rights, ought to be guaranteed by additional legislation. The point to be aimed at is the protection of the individual against wrong, not the attempt to limit and hamper the acquisition and output of wealth.

"It is almost equally dangerous either to blink at evils and refuse to acknowledge their existence, or to strike at them in a spirit of ignorant revenge, thereby doing far more harm than is remedied. The need can be met only by careful study of conditions, and by action which, while taken boldly and without hesitation, is neither harmless nor reckless. It is well to remember, on the one hand, that the adoption of what is reasonable in the demands of reformers is the surest way to prevent the adoption of what is unreasonable; and, on the other hand, that many of the worst and most dangerous laws which have been put upon statute books have been put there by zealous reformers with excellent intentions."

The Trusts, the Governor said:

"This problem has a hundred phases. The relation of the capitalist and the wageworker makes one; the proper attitude of the State towards extreme poverty, another; the proper attitude of the State towards the questions of the ownership and running of so-called 'public utilities,' a third. But among all these phases, the one which at this time has the greatest prominence, is the question of what are commonly termed 'trusts,' meaning by the name those vast combinations of capital, usually flourishing by virtue of some monopolistic element, which have become so startlingly common a feature in

the industrial revolution which has progressed so rapidly during recent years.

"Every new feature of this industrial revolution produces hardship because in its later stages it has been literally a revolution instead of an evolution. The new inventions and discoveries and the new methods of taking advantage of the business facilities afforded by the extraordinary development of our material civilization have caused the changes to proceed with such marvelous rapidity, that at each stage some body of workers finds itself unable to accommodate itself to the new conditions with sufficient speed to escape hardship. In the end the accommodation of the class takes place; at times too late for the well being of many individuals. The change which would be unaccompanied by hardship if it came slowly, may be fraught with severe suffering if it comes too fast, even when it is in the end beneficial. Occasionally, moreover, the change is positively deleterious, and very often, even when it is on the whole beneficial, it has features which are the reverse. In some cases, while recognizing the evil, it is impossible with our present knowledge to discover any remedy. In others, a remedy can be applied, but as yet only at a cost that would make it worse than the trouble itself. In yet others it is possible by acting with wisdom, coolness and fearlessness, to apply a remedy which will wholly or in great part remove the evil while leaving the good behind. We do not wish to discourage enterprise. We do not desire to destroy corporations; we do desire to put them fully at the service of the State and the people.

"The machinery of modern business is so vast and complicated that great caution must be exercised in introducing radical changes, for fear the unforeseen effects may take the shape of widespread disaster. Moreover, much that is complained about is not really the abuse so much as the inevitable development of our modern industrial life. We have moved far away from the old simple days when each community transacted almost all its work for itself and relied upon outsiders for but a fraction of the necessities, and for not a very large portion even of the luxuries, of life. Very many of the anti-trust laws which have made their appearance on the statute books of recent years, have been almost or absolutely ineffective because they have blinked the all-important fact that much of what they thought to do away with was incidental to modern industrial conditions, and could not be eliminated unless we were willing to turn back the wheels of modern progress by also eliminating the forces which have brought about these industrial conditions. Not only trusts, but the immense importance of machinery, the congestion of city life, the capacity to make large fortunes by speculative enterprises, and many other features of modern existence could be thoroughly changed by doing away with steam and electricity; but the most ardent denouncer of trusts would hesitate to advocate so drastic a remedy. What remains for us to do, as practical men, is to look the conditions squarely in the face, and not to permit the emotional side of

the question, which has its proper place, to blind us to the fact that there are other sides. We must set about finding out what the real abuses are, with their causes, and to what extent remedies can be applied.

"That abuses exist, and that they are of a very grave character, it is worse than idle to deny. Just so long as in the business world unscrupulous cunning is allowed the free rein which, thanks to the growth of humanity during the past centuries, we now deny to unscrupulous physical force, then just so long there will be a field for the best effort of every honest social and civic reformer who is capable of feeling an impulse of generous indignation, and who is far sighted enough to appreciate when the unscrupulous individual works by himself. They are much worse when he works in conjunction with his fellows, through a corporation or trust. Law is largely crystallized custom, largely a mass of remedies with which humanity has become thoroughly familiar. In a simple society only simple forms of wrong can be committed. There is neither the ability nor the opportunity to inflict others. A primitive people provides for the punishment of theft, assault and murder, because the conditions of the existing society allow the development of thieves and murderers and the commission of deeds of violence; but it does not provide for the punishment of forgery because there is nothing to forge, and, therefore, no forgers. The gradual growth of humanitarian sentiment, often unconscious or but semi-conscious, combined with other causes, step by step emancipated the serf from bodily subjection to his over-lord; he was then protected in his freedom by statute; but when he became a factory hand the conditions were new and there were no laws which prevented the use of unguarded machinery in the factories, or the abuses of child labor, forced upon the conscientious employers by the unscrupulous until legislation put them on an equality. When new evils appear there is always at first difficulty in finding the proper remedy; and as the evils grow more complex, the remedies become increasingly difficult of application. There is no use whatever in seeking to apply a remedy blindly; yet this is just what has been done in reference to trusts.

"Much of the legislation not only proposed but enacted against trusts is not one whit more intelligent than the mediaeval bull against the comet, and has not been one particle more effective. Yet there can and must be courageous and effective remedial legislation.

"To say that the present system, of haphazard license and lack of supervision and regulation, is the best possible, is absurd. The men who endeavor to prevent the remedying of real abuses, not only show callous disregard for the suffering of others, but also weaken those who are anxious to prevent the adoption of indiscriminate would-be remedies which would subvert our whole industrial fabric. The chicanery and the dishonest, even though not technically illegal, methods through which some great fortunes have been made, are

scandals to our civilization. The man who by swindling or wrongdoing acquires great wealth for himself at the expense of his fellow, stands as low morally as any predatory mediaeval nobleman, and is a more dangerous member of society. Any law, and any method of construing the law which will enable the community to punish him, either by taking away his wealth or by imprisonment, should be welcomed. Of course, such laws are even more needed in dealing with great corporations or trusts than with individuals. They are needed quite as much for the sake of honest corporations as for the sake of the public. The corporation that manages its affairs honestly has a right to demand protection against the dishonest corporation. We do not wish to put any burden on honest corporations. Neither do we wish to put an unnecessary burden of responsibility on enterprising men for acts which are immaterial; they should be relieved from such burdens, but held to a rigid financial accountability for acts that mislead the upright investor or stockholder, or defraud the public.

"The first essential is knowledge of the facts, publicity. Much can be done at once by amendment of the corporation laws so as to provide for such publicity as will not work injustice as between business rivals.

"The chief abuses alleged to arise from trusts are probably the following: Misrepresentation or concealment regarding material facts connected with the organization of an enterprise; the evils connected with unscrupulous promotion; overcapitalization; unfair competition, resulting in the crushing out of competitors who themselves do not act improperly; raising of prices above fair competitive rates; the wielding of increased power over the wage earners. Of course none of these abuses may exist in a particular trust, but in many trusts, as well as in many corporations not ordinarily called trusts, one or more of them are evident. Some of these evils could be partially remedied by modification of our corporation laws; here we can safely go along the lines of the more conservative New England States, and probably not a little farther. Such laws will themselves provide the needed publicity, and the needed circumstantiality of statement. We should know authoritatively whether stock represents actual value of plants, or whether it represents brands or good will; or if not, what it does represent, if anything. It is desirable to know how much was actually bought, how much was issued free; and to whom; and, if possible, for what reason. In the first place, this would be invaluable in preventing harm being done as among stockholders, for many of the grossest wrongs that are perpetrated are those of promoters and organizers at the expense of the general public who are invited to take shares in business organizations. In the next place, this would enable us to see just what the public have a right to expect in the way of service and taxation. There is no reason whatever for refusing to tax a corporation because by its own acts it

has created a burden of charges under which it staggers. The extravagant man who builds a needlessly large house nevertheless pays taxes on the house; and the corporation which has to pay great sums of interest owing to juggling transactions in the issue of stocks and bonds has just as little right to consideration. But very great hardship may result to innocent purchasers; and publicity, by lessening the possibility of this, would also serve the purpose of the State.

"Where a trust becomes a monopoly the State has an immediate right to interfere. Care should be taken not to stifle enterprise or disclose any facts of a business that are essentially private; but the State for the protection of the public should exercise the right to inspect, to examine thoroughly all the workings of great corporations just as is now done with banks; and whenever the interests of the public demand it, it should publish the results of its examination. Then, if there are inordinate profits, competition or public sentiment will give the public the benefit in lowered prices; and if not the power of taxation remains. It is therefore evident that publicity is the one sure and adequate remedy, which we can now invoke. There may be other remedies, but what these others are we can only find out by publicity, as the result of investigation. The first requisite is knowledge, full and complete." The Governor proceeded to discuss Labor Questions:

"I call the attention of the Legislature to the reports of the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics and of the State Factory Inspector. During the past year very valuable labor measures have been enacted into laws, and they are well enforced. I am happy to say that in speaking of labor legislation I can talk mainly of performance—not of promise. Additional legislation will undoubtedly from time to time become necessary; but many vitally needed laws have already been put upon the statute books. As experience shows their defects, these will be remedied. A stringent eight-hour labor law has been enacted. This is working well as a whole.

"In nothing do we need to exercise cooler judgment than in labor legislation. Such legislation is absolutely necessary, alike from the humanitarian and the industrial standpoints; and it is as much our duty to protect the weaker wage-workers from oppression as to protect helpless investors from fraud. But we must be aware above all things of that injudicious and ill-considered benevolence which usually in the long run defeats its own ends. To discourage industry and thrift ultimately amounts to putting a premium on poverty and shiftlessness. It is neither of benefit to the individual nor to society needlessly to handicap superior ability and energy, and to reduce their possessor to the level of work and gain suited for his less able and energetic rivals.

"There have been a large number of strikes for increase of wages during

the past year. The fact that these strikes were not against a reduction, but for an increase, is due to the prosperous condition of the country and State generally. The services of the present excellent Board of Mediation and Arbitration have been in almost constant demand, and they have been gratifyingly successful. The number of controversies amicably adjusted directly and indirectly through its influence, has been greater than that during any year since its creation. The work of mediation—that is, of settling the dispute before it has reached an acute stage—is even more important and successful than that of arbitration proper, after the strike is once on. This being so, it would be well to enact legislation which would compel parties to labor disputes to notify the Board of impending trouble, or of strikes and lockouts.

“The experiment of publishing a quarterly bulletin by the Bureau of Labor Statistics has worked excellently and the bulletin should be continued and improved. I suggest that it would be well to define by statute the questions that may legally be asked of manufacturers by this Bureau. Abuses have occurred in connection with the employment offices in the larger cities, which are now allowed to violate the law with impunity, the power of punishment lying with the local authorities. It would be well to require the keeper of any employment office to procure a license from the State, as in Minnesota and other States. This license should be granted on the payment of a substantial fee, and the business would thus be restricted to responsible parties and kept under the control of the State administration.

“The measures suggested in my message of last year and carried into effect by legislation, increasing the number of factory inspectors, and requiring a license for all shops and rooms where garments are made for general employers, have already greatly increased the efficiency of the Factory Inspector's Department, and enlarged its service to the public. Too little time has elapsed since the sweatshop law went into effect, in September, to give a full report of its benefits. As illustrating its efficiency in interfering with sweatshops I may mention that so far under its provisions 4,942 licenses have been granted and 918 refused. These 918 cases represent the sweatshops which would now have been in operation save for this law and for the way it has been enforced.

“I shall not ask for any increase of the number of salaried inspectors this year; but I recommend that the power be given to the Governor and to the Factory Inspector to name, whenever necessary, unsalaried inspectors to undertake special investigation or aid the Department at special times. Such assistance would increase the efficiency of the work of the Department without imposing added burdens upon the State.

“I urge that the Legislature give particular attention to the need of reform in the laws governing the tenement houses. The Tenement House

Commission of 1894 declared that, in its opinion, the Tenement House Laws needed to be revised as often as once in five years, and I am confident that the improvements in building materials and construction of tenements, and the advance in sanitary legislation all demand further modification of existing laws. Probably the best course to follow would be to appoint a commission to present a revised code of Tenement House Laws.

"Owing to defects in the drug clerks' bill presented last year, I was unable to sign it. I am, however, in hearty sympathy with the objects sought in the bill. I trust that a satisfactory bill may be presented this year, and shall be glad to give such a bill my approval.

"The liability of employers to their employees is now recognized in the laws of most of the great industrial communities of the world. While employers ought not to be burdened to such an extent as to endanger ordinary business transactions, yet the State should, so far as possible, protect those employees engaged in dangerous occupations and should see that every reasonable provision is taken to guard their rights."

Here we have in remarkable array the vital questions—those that have fire in them—the things the people are thinking and talking about—and they are far and away more interesting in the consideration given them by the President of the United States, when he was Governor of the State of New York, even than his utterances as President.

It would be hard in the great roll of Governors to find such a discussion in their public papers as appears here. The "problems" he presented in his most excellent method to his State, are all singly applicable to the United States. Elsewhere the Governor spoke of the City of New York, in sorrow and anger, this summary of pride and bitterness:

"There is no reason to suppose that the condition of the working classes as a whole has grown worse, though there are enormous bodies of them whose condition is certainly very bad. There are grave social dangers and evils to meet, but there are plenty of earnest and devoted men and women who devote their mind and energies to meeting them. With many very serious shortcomings and defects, the average New Yorker yet possesses courage, energy, business capacity, much generosity of a practical sort, and shrewd, humorous common sense. The greedy tyranny of the unscrupulous rich and the anarchic violence of the vicious and ignorant poor are ever threatening dangers; but though there is every reason why we should realize the gravity of the perils ahead of us, there is none why we should not face them with confident and resolute hope, if only each of us, according to the measure of his capacity, will with manly honesty and good faith do his share of the all-important duties incident to American citizenship."

That which the Governor's first message contains that concerns especially and expressly the State of New York, is exceedingly well stated, and has served its purpose. There is fullness of information and adept application in the review of many things, and a share of attention given to a surprising scope of interests. The Governor pleaded for the preservation of the forests and the game they contained, and incidentally remarked:

"Hardy outdoor sports, like hunting, are in themselves of no small value to the national character and should be encouraged in every way. Men who go into the wilderness, indeed men who take part in any field sports with horse or rifle, receive a benefit which can hardly be given by even the most vigorous athletic games.

"The State should not permit within its limits factories to make bird skins or bird feathers into articles of ornament or wearing apparel. Ordinary birds, and especially song birds, should be rigidly protected. Game birds should never be shot to a greater extent than will offset the natural rate of increase. All spring shooting should be prohibited and efforts made by correspondence with the neighboring States to secure its prohibition within their borders. Care should be taken not to encourage the use of cold storage or other market systems which are a benefit to no one but the wealthy epicure who can afford to pay a heavy price for luxuries. These systems tend to the destruction of the game; which would bear most severely upon the very man whose rapacity has been appealed to in order to secure its extermination.

"The open season for the different species of game and fish should be made uniform throughout the entire State, save that it should be shorter on Long Island for certain species which are not plentiful and which are pursued by a greater number of people than in other game portions of the State."

The repeal of the Horton Boxing Law was recommended as follows:

"I called the attention of the Legislature to the so-called Horton Boxing Law, now on the statute books, and recommend its repeal. If this law merely fulfilled the expectations of its original advocates; and if it were executed as it was executed during the first year it was enacted, there would be no need of this recommendation. Rough vigorous pastimes are excellent things for the nation; for they promote manliness, being good in their effects not merely on the body, but upon the character, which is far more important than the body. It is an admirable thing for any boy or young man whose work is of a sedentary character to take part in vigorous play, so long as it is not carried to excess, or allowed to interfere with his work. Every exercise that tends to develop bodily vigor, daring, endurance, resolution and self-command should be encouraged. Boxing is a fine sport; but this affords no justification of prize fighting, any more than the fact that a cross country run or a ride on a wheel is healthy justifies such a demoralizing exhibition as a six days' race.

When any sport is carried on primarily for money—that is, as a business—it is in danger of losing much that is valuable, and of acquiring some exceedingly undesirable characteristics. In the case of prize fighting, not only do all the objections which apply to the abuse of other professional sports apply in aggravated form, but in addition the exhibition has a very demoralizing and brutalizing effect. There is no need to argue these points. They are expressly admitted in the Horton Law itself. Moreover the evils are greatly aggravated by the fact that the fight is for a money prize, and is the occasion for unlimited gambling and betting. As the law is construed by the police department of New York at present, it permits prize fights pure and simple. If, as is alleged, the police are technically justified in so construing the law, it only renders it the more necessary that the law should be repealed. However proper it may have been in its intent and as originally construed and administered, the gross abuses in its present administration, make its existence on the statute books of the Empire State an offence against decency.”

There is not a word in the Governor's papers that does not mean to honest people, that there is a man in earnest “behind the gun,” and one not afraid to burn powder, and fire steel bolts straight at any mark that may be set up to be tested, and to try the marksmanship of the gunner, and prepare for the emergencies of the future, by using the powers of government, first for the information of the people, for the ascertainment of grievances, and then the application of remedy, the certainty being that all the time nothing will be done permanently that is not sustained by public opinion.

CHAPTER XVI.

HIS IRON HAND.

New York as a "Free City"—"Tri-Insula" Policy Once Proposed—Roosevelt out West—Encounters Roughs Who Were Not Riders—His Immense Campaign Work—Striking Speeches Go to the Right Spot—Returns Home in Time to Stamp upon Sedition—A Great Public Service—The Ruffians Ridden Down by a Rough Rider with an Iron Hand.

THE City of New York has on several occasions been regarded by revolutionists as having interests of her own distinct from those of the country at large. There could hardly be a more narrow-minded and impracticable scheme of sedition than that of undertaking to augment the greatness of New York by exciting antagonism with the source of that greatness which has always been clearly the country at large.

There has been a presumption in some quarters that would hardly have been suspected of so lacking intelligence as to entertain it, that New York, as a free and independent city, could be more prosperous and powerful than as the great port of a great nation. The most notable incident of the development of an idea to disintegrate the country by the severance of it, in a large commercial sense, from its metropolis, occurred at the time that was most critical, while the organization of secession was going on, to resist the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States. It was assumed by the Mayor of New York that the Union was already dissolved, and that it would be well for that city to augment her grandeur by following the example of some of the Southern States, and separating herself from the Union. The fact of the official suggestion, that there should be a great commercial commonwealth, to be called "Tri-Insula," is not as well known as it should be. There is a lesson in it still to be studied. We quote an account given, looking to the independence of the three islands—Manhattan, Long Island and Staten Island, with, of course, the purpose of including the city and a part of the territory beyond it in New Jersey, so as to give good form to the new nation, and, perhaps, rule over the land after the manner of Rome, possibly with the help of a few States seceded to reorganize the disorder of the Republic and bestow on the North American Continent, as a whole, the blessings of muni-

cial government as established, and illustrating the advantages of the change at the mouth of the Hudson. It is a strange story, but the historian is of celebrity and reliability. He says: "At the outset of the Civil War, there was even an effort made to force the city into active rebellion. The small local Democratic leaders, of the type of Isaiah Rynders, the brutal and turbulent ruffians who led the mob, and controlled the politics of the lower wards, openly and defiantly threatened to make common cause with the South, and to forbid the passage of Union troops through the city. The Mayor, Fernando Wood, in January, 1861, proclaimed disunion to be a "fixed fact" in a message to the Common Council, and proposed that New York should herself secede, and become a free city, with but a nominal duty upon imports. The independent commonwealth was to be named "Tri-Insula," as being composed of three islands,—Long, Staten, and Manhattan. The Common Council, a corrupt body as disloyal as Wood himself, received the message enthusiastically, and had it printed and circulated wholesale."

The historian from whose instructive work on the City of New York we quote, it may add an interest more than personal to say, is The Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, and he had evidence, during the later weeks of his far Western campaigning tour, in 1900, that there was an idea abroad of governing the country by the City of New York, in, it was assumed, a more constitutional way than had been in the mind of the Mayor of the City in 1860. The experience of forty years was not altogether disregarded. All that was wanted was to carry enough Western States against the re-election of William McKinley to be President and Theodore Roosevelt Vice-President of the United States, to make the decision turn on the vote of the greater New York City. The old city had swallowed Brooklyn and Bronx and quite imitated, within legal limits, the "Tri-Insula" scheme, but it was necessary that there should be a tremendous majority in the City in opposition to the continuance of the McKinley Administration and as Tammany was in possession of Tri-Insula, the whole power of that distinguished organization might be directed point blank to the enterprise of carrying for Tammany the Greater New York by declaring such an overwhelming vote as to sweep with it the electoral vote of the State. Somewhat curiously, there appears to have been an oversight in the preparations made by the managers of this metropolitan enterprise. They had omitted a factor from their calculations. They had forgotten the Governor, except as they noticed that he was making a most formidable campaign in that territory which the Opposition to the McKinley and Roosevelt candidacy had been claiming, with an intense display of confidence, for their exclusive use in the approaching election. The Governor of New York was disturbing the Tri-Insula plan of campaign. That had been made plain at Kansas City, where the hand of the master of the Greater New

York municipality had been ostentatiously displayed. That hand had become a clenched fist. The Governor got in his own experience evidence that there was violence in the air. He encountered it in person, and there were various indications on his way home that the picnic part of the season was over. Indeed, he had spoken with his accustomed vigor; and he had given due prominence to the influential attitude of the people in New York he knew so well in attempts made to break up his meetings, in blows with sticks, and the throwing of stones aimed at him, and one of the points of testimony that he had been doing well, tendered him when he arrived in New York, was to have a window of his special car smashed by a stone that was intended for him. The Governor was alert.

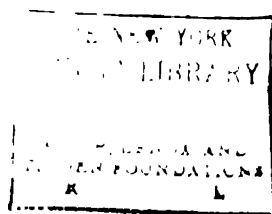
The campaign managers, on both sides, early understood the reciprocal relations between what the Governor of New York was doing in the West and what the chief of the Government of the City of New York was engaged in preparing there. The business question was whether the Great City was to become a pivot upon which the destiny of the Nation should turn. The importance of Governor Roosevelt's expedition was perhaps nowhere so completely comprehended as in the Greater New York. The doubtful quantities were scanned and weighed every day in the headquarters of both parties. On the way West, Thursday, September 6th, the Governor addressed the Republican State Convention in response to a resolution, that he be invited to address it, and a committee of three, including General Francis V. Greene, escorted him to the platform. The Governor was cheered loudly and frequently interrupted by applause as he spoke. He said: "Gentlemen of the Convention: I deeply appreciate the honor you do me in letting me address you to-day. I congratulate you upon the character and qualifications of the men whom you have nominated and upon the declarations which you have put forward on behalf of the great party you represent. First, as to our candidate for Governor. During my two years' term of service Mr. Odell has been not merely my close and stanch friend, but my trusted helper and adviser in every crisis. It would not be possible for any Governor to find in the Chairman of the State organization a wiser and truer friend than I have found in him. Again and again some important measure of legislation or administration has been perfected only in consequence of his advice."

The speech was very satisfactory throughout, and there was generally a demonstrative spirit of congratulation that Odell was up for Governor, and that Roosevelt was on the National ticket.

Crossing Michigan on his way West, the Governor made eight speeches, and arrived at Grand Rapids at 6 o'clock in the evening and had a splendid reception. His first speech that day was at Bay City, 8:30 A. M. He closed at Hastings at 5 P. M. In Grand Rapids he made two speeches—at the Audi-



THEODORE ROOSEVELT TAKING THE OATH OF VICE-PRESIDENT



torium and Powers' Theater—to audiences that crammed the space. The Governor claimed to be strong as a "bull moose," but thought ten speeches for the first day was going beyond a fair limit. He said that while his health was robust and his strength equal to any ordinary demands, he would be glad when he crossed the Michigan State line into another State where the Central Committee would not work the candidate so hard. The demonstration at the Auditorium—the ninth and next to the last of the day, in numbers and enthusiasm surpassed anything that had taken place at any meeting held in the campaign in honor of the Vice-Presidential candidate. Thousands were unable to obtain admittance to the hall. The meeting was called to order by Congressman W. A. Smith, who introduced Governor Roosevelt in a brief address, in which he extolled the courage, sacrifice and patriotism of the American soldier. When Governor Roosevelt advanced to the front of the stage, the great audience broke into a tempest of applause.

Sleeping in his private car, the Governor passed into Indiana, and in the evening spoke at South Bend, and he may be said to have done the most exacting and satisfactory work in the history of stump speaking for the next two months. Persons have been known to affirm with their utmost force that Theodore Roosevelt was too picturesque for a public man, and that he did not persuade enough through conciliation. Mr. Richard Croker, of New York, did not like his manners or what he said, or his measures or what he did, in the campaign of 1900. Indeed, Mr. Croker had opposed the election of Theodore Roosevelt to be Governor of New York. Among other prerogatives and potentialities, the Governor is placed by the State Constitution and laws in a very responsible position, if the public order is disturbed. He even has a good deal to do with the troops of the State. The masters of the city had an impression that they ought to take the State, and then the United States.

It is habitually admitted by the friends of the Governor that he neither started out upon his tour of over twenty thousand miles, nor returned from his tremendous trip, in a mood to speak and act on the defensive, unless the tactics were aggressive. He has been, and probably will be in many respects, an aggressor in politics; and he does not apologize upon compulsion. Mr. Croker found much occasion to speak unkindly of the Governor of New York, during the first week of the month of November, 1900, and his favorite epithet that could be printed was to refer to the Governor as "the wild man," and the reporters with whom Mr. Croker repeatedly conversed profusely, when undergoing interviewing, mentioned that he was himself pretty "wild," indeed, at times, if taken seriously, quite awful—full of ferocity and threatenings. It was the policy of the Republicans of New York City to preserve the peace, if possible, because they knew there were dangerous schemes to cause disorder, with the view of finding excuses for carrying out threats to seize the voting places

and the ballot boxes, with the intention of amending the returns. Mr. Croker's way of stating the case, as the elections approached, was described as vindictive and furious in his presumption. The great city became, not for the first time, a storm centre. The disorderly menace amounted to threats of civil war.

Good citizens have said since the peaceful termination of the plots of the boasters of strife, as a remedy for impending defeat, that Theodore Roosevelt was created, foreordained, from the time the foundations of the world were placed, to serve his great City, State and Nation, in the capacity of the Governor of his State, to meet this emergency. Whether we refer the fact to Divine Providence, or take a less exalted view of the good fortune it was to have Governor Roosevelt in reserve for the care of rioters, there is no doubt he contributed to the preservation of the peace of the Colossal Community. Roosevelt, as an historian, mentions the Mayor of New York as a supporter of the Dissolution of the Union, before the first inauguration of Abraham Lincoln; the city to include all around Manhattan Bay as a "free and independent" city, to become an antidote for the protective tariff and other "fetters upon freedom." This establishment of freedom was to be under the enlightened rule of Fernando Wood.

There have been several lines of public policy proposed for the establishment of New York City as the master of the State, and the State in command of the United States. In 1900 the figures were carefully prepared, showing how to run the country by holding hard a fraud centre made up of certain very thickly populated wards of the city. The list of Presidential elections that turned on the vote of New York State, and also upon New York City, contains several momentous items. The situation in New York City, and the character of the municipal government there, administered, have a patent interest, therefore, to "We, the people of the United States," once, at least, in four years.

Toward the close of the week before the Presidential election, of 1900, the City of New York was in great commotion on account of extremely notorious threats by the Tammany leaders to the effect they would do violence at the polls, of course, claiming that the assaults they meant to make would be contingent upon the misconduct of those chosen for attack. On the last day of October, several Republican meetings were broken up in the city; one at Forty-fourth street and Tenth avenue; another at Forty-first street and Eighth avenue; another at Forty-seventh street and Eighth avenue. At Forty-second street and Tenth avenue, there was a gang of boys known as the "Wrangleberry Kids," evidently doing a job in the interest of disorder. It was reported November 1st, that "Mr. Croker was almost worn out by the violence of his denunciations of Governor Roosevelt, and the virulence of his threats of what he would do and the Democrats of the city and State should do if the returns of the Election Officers did not agree with the preconceived notion of the

Tammany party as to what the returns ought to be." Mr. Croker had been extremely irritated and emphatic, and was reported daily as countenancing disorder, and did not seem to be willing to modify any statement he was alleged to have made, no matter how frantic it was. At all events, he was in a state of excitement of the most intense nature—and whether it was real or affected, it was a matter that imported a state of civil war. He claimed in many reported talks that the Democrats were going to carry Connecticut and New Jersey; and it was stated that when some one inadvertently mentioned the name of Governor Roosevelt in his presence, it was "all off," as they say at a race course, and Croker "glared and gritted his teeth," and proceeded to howl "that wild man's at it again. I see he was mobbed at Elmira. I wouldn't be surprised if he put up the job himself." Further, the Democratic leader said, "the Roosevelt fighting in Cuba" was a "fake," and he added: "It puzzles me that when the heart of the American people is beating for love of him, as that wild man says it is, he never shows his face but someone throws a brick at him," and this perhaps, mistakenly, was regarded a hint—a tip.

The great Republican procession, closing the campaign in New York City, was about to come off, and it was declared there was a plan to insult the marchers. The scheme was to hang out several insulting banners above the line of march, and these were to be flaunted in the faces of the marchers in the great procession. Mr. Croker, being asked whether he didn't think the men in the procession might resent it, that trouble would follow, said he didn't care, which to his followers meant that he wanted it to happen, thus corroborating the motive of putting out the flags as stated in the story.

On November the 2nd, a mob in Haverstraw threatened a Republican speaker with violence, and there was extraordinary rowdiness that seemed to be concerted. On November 3rd, the Saturday before the election, Chairman Jones, of the Democratic National Committee, at Chicago, issued a statement saying "The fight is won. Bryan and Stevenson will be elected. The Democratic majority in the Electoral College will be ample." It was further stated they would carry all the States they carried in '96, with the possible exception of Wyoming, and would also carry New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois. At the same time they claimed California. The purpose of this proclamation, interpreted according to the riot rumors, was to excite the opposition to the Administration in New York to believe that if the State should be carried against McKinley he would be beaten. The policy of the false proclamation was the old, accustomed one, that a very large Democratic majority in the City of New York would mean the electoral vote of the State, and that would elect Bryan. It was desirable, to those in favor of disorder on election day, and violence, to interfere with the counting of votes, if they were not of the character that suited the Tammany

society, that the fact of such apparent result would justify riotous proceedings, and a New York mob "lift," as is the "lingo," the Presidential election. This proclamation was held to be a corroboration of rumor.

Among the banners hung out over Broadway, with the intention of provoking the men in the procession to tear them down and so start a fight (the number of marchers was about 85,000) were inscriptions, in big, black letters: "They make you parade, but they can't make you vote against Bryan." "It is a Trust parade, and not a Republican parade." "We are here to see the Wild Man, but this is the man we will vote for," and there was a picture of Bryan given as the tip that Bryan was the man and Roosevelt was "wild." The clear purpose was to exasperate the marchers, that they might commit some breach of peace, and provide an excuse for a series of disturbances, beginning immediately and culminating on election day. At least, that was the view taken, and there was an immense amount of bad feeling and a great deal of serious apprehension. "The marchers" bore any amount of insult patiently, and there was no outbreak.

It had been thought early in the summer by the opponents to the re-election of McKinley, that Mr. Bryan would sweep many, indeed nearly all, the States between the Pacific Slope and the Mississippi river; and if Croker could redeem his promises to carry the State of New York in the City of New York, Bryan would win. The managers who put up the scaffolding for this structure, were disappointed and disconcerted by the nomination of Roosevelt for the Vice-Presidency; and the irritation of mind and strain on the feelings increased with the news from the Roosevelt special train. It was all along the line "Behold, the conquering hero comes," and some time elapsed before anyone ventured to use mob violence with the expectation of getting the better of the fight certain to follow. It was a pretty sure thing that the Rough Riders were not the kind of people to be walked over. However, September 27th a dispatch came over the wires, stating an assault had been made on Roosevelt, that he had been in danger, and "narrowly escaped serious injury in a Colorado mining town." The dispatches from Colorado relating to this matter were as follows:

"Cripple Creek, Colo., Sept. 26—Governor Roosevelt had a most exciting experience to-day at Victor, a few miles from Cripple Creek, among the mines, where a demonstrative crowd had assembled. The Governor had a narrow escape from serious personal violence. The accident was the only one of the kind that has occurred on his trip, and it is said that the trouble was caused by a small body of roughs who had been organized and paid for the purpose of breaking up the meeting. The men engaged were few in number, but very violent in their attack. Governor Roosevelt spoke at Armory Hall, which was filled. He had just begun to speak when he was interrupted by noisy demonstrations. He said:

"In my State the men who were put on the Committee on Platform to draw up an anti-trust platform at the Democratic National Convention at Kansas City, had at that time their pockets stuffed with Ice Trust stock. The Democratic leader in New York, Richard Croker, upon whom you base your only hope—and it is a mighty slim hope, too—was another great stockholder, and if, in fact, you were to read through the list of stockholders in that trust it would sound like reading the roll of the members of Tammany Hall.'

"A voice cried, 'What about the rotten beef?' The Governor replied: 'I ate it, and you will never get near enough to be hit with a bullet, or within five miles of it.'

"Governor Roosevelt succeeded in finishing his remarks, although there was an evident intention among those present that he should not do so. When the Governor left the hall with his party to go toward the train he was surrounded by a company of Rough Riders, commanded by Sherman Bell, one of his own soldiers in the war with Spain. He was also accompanied by Curtis Guild, Jr., of Boston; John Proctor Clarke, of New York; General Irving Hale, of Colorado; Senator Wolcott and Frank C. Goudy. Governor Roosevelt and his party were on foot. A crowd of boys and men began throwing stones and shouting for Bryan. The Rough Riders, mounted and unmounted, closed in around the Governor to protect him from assault by the mob. One made a personal attack on Governor Roosevelt, and succeeded in striking him a blow in the breast with a stick. The assailant was immediately knocked down by Daniel M. Sullivan, postmaster of Cripple Creek. A rush was then made by the mob to drag the mounted men in khaki uniforms from their horses. The men on foot, also in khaki, closed around the Governor, making a wedge which pushed through the crowd; and they succeeded in gaining the train, which was surrounded by the mob. By this time there were probably one thousand or fifteen hundred excited people in the crowd, and blows were exchanged on all sides. Many of the mob were armed with sticks and clubs, and some with rotten potatoes, stale eggs and lemons. The entire party regained the train, however, without serious injury, and it pulled out of the place with the Rough Riders on the rear platform. Governor Roosevelt, while regretting the occurrence, was not disturbed by the incident, and was ready to proceed with his speeches in Cripple Creek."

At Castle Rock, where he was introduced by Senator Wolcott, Governor Roosevelt said in part: "We feel that to you men of the West we have a right to appeal. There may be some excuse for the dwellers in great cities, pressed down by the hard conditions of life in some quarters, to despair. It may be necessary to preach to them the gospel of hope, but to you people of this State, to you with a future so glorious in promise, surely it ought not to be necessary to say a word asking you to look forward and not back; to hope and not

despair; to dare and not shrink. It is the law of success to dare, to do and to endure. It is only by so acting that success can come, that you will be successful. I ask the men of the present day to stand straight for the flag that means National power and law, and orderly liberty and equal rights for all men beneath its folds."

A great demonstration was made in Colorado Springs on the arrival of the train. The Governor made a short speech in the Temple Theater and one in the Opera House. Both places were crowded. All business houses along the line of march were decorated with bunting. The escort consisted of the Flambeau Club, Grand Army of the Republic organizations and various other civic and military bodies. After halting there an hour and fifteen minutes, the train pulled out for Cripple Creek.

"Cripple Creek, Sept. 26.—On leaving Colorado Springs the Roosevelt train was split in two sections, the first stop thereafter being at Colorado City. The entire population appeared to see the New York Governor and shake his hand. Manitou was the next stop. A large crowd was assembled here to listen to the five minute talk of the campaigners. The train then moved on to Divide, where there was a pause. A call was also made at Gillette and at Independence."

"Denver, Sept. 26.—At the Broadway Theater last night, Governor Roosevelt said: 'I have just received a letter purporting to be from the Governor of Colorado, written upon official paper, requesting me, somewhat at length, to state my position on the currency question, and asking why I should not state it in Denver as well as in Chicago and Milwaukee. It is perhaps unusual in the Chief Executive of a State to attempt to dictate to a visitor within that State the subject upon which he shall speak. I am not aware that such a course has ever been followed before; but most certainly there is no question that my opponents can ask—nothing that I am not more than willing to answer, in no matter what portion of the Union it be put. I will suggest to the Governor that hereafter he will do well to read the letters of acceptance of candidates. If he had read my letter which was published in Denver exactly as in New York or Milwaukee, he would have found his questions already answered. But, without regard to that, let me state that, of course, I stand now, as I have always stood, on the platform of my party. I am for a protective tariff, the gold standard, expansion and the honor of the flag.'"

Roosevelt's speech at Denver, and, indeed, throughout the tour in what was called the Silver States, was a test of the moral courage of the man. The silverites at the capital of Colorado thought they had the world in wrapping paper, and that it would be a beaming exploit to strike Roosevelt on the "silver question," as they called their financial peculiarity. The Governor was used to lend his name and office, with all the dignities, to putting a question, that

according to the local lights, would be embarrassing. A few sincere words from the Republican candidate made the silver pointer at Colorado point no point. Governor Roosevelt was in favor of the gold standard. There was no equivocation about that. The absolute truth was put forth plain as an ax held up by the handle. More than that, the Governor of New York was for a protective tariff, expansion, and the honor of the flag. No truckling to Filipino traitors in that, no skulking as to expansion, no lowering the flag in dishonor that was raised in honor. And more than that, "I stand now, as I have always stood, on the platform of my party," was the last sentence the candidate uttered. Taking into consideration time, place and circumstances, there never were fifteen words put to better purpose.

An attempt was made to injure Roosevelt on his return from his long tour at the town of Waverly, New York. A stone was thrown at the Governor's car, just as the train was leaving, broke a window, but missed the man it was meant for. This welcome of the Governor was a sample of what was going on at New York four days before the election.

The speeches of the Governor were most forceful. Answering before an audience of farmers, the sneer that the Republicans were claiming for themselves the attributes of Divinity, he said:

"It is perfectly true that no legislation, no administration, can by itself bring prosperity. The wisest laws won't bring prosperity if the hand of the Lord is laid upon us. If there comes a drouth, a flood of fire, a pestilence, no law will save us from disaster. If we are guilty of folly in legislation, no administration can save us from the effects of our own foolishness, weakness or wrong-doing, and there are some people whom nothing can make prosperous. All that laws can do is this: They can be so shaped, framed and administered as to give the average man the best possible chance to use aright his own skill, thrift, courage, resolution and business capacity. This is what can be done, and this is what has been done."

At Olean, when the Roosevelt special arrived, the Governor was transported a mile and a half across the city to a platform which had been erected in a public square. The wide main street of Olean, along which the Governor's carriage passed, had its sidewalks crowded with thousands of persons intent upon seeing the Governor and hearing him speak. Senator Higgins praised highly the Governor's administration, upon introducing him. The latter, in opening his speech, alluded to the big Republican plurality usually cast by Cattaraugus County. He said:

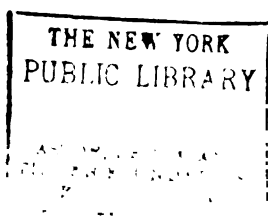
"I am now passing through a part of the State which can always be depended upon to roll up great majorities for the cause of decent citizenship. In this campaign that is the fundamental issue. We have a right to appeal to all men, without regard to their political affiliations in the past, to stand with

us now, because this is no mere party contest. There is a contest for the fundamental principles of American life, for orderly liberty, for decency, honor and that virile patriotism which sees in the flag a symbol of national greatness, and wishes to uphold it in the face of the nations of mankind. A singular thing in connection with this campaign is the attitude of the very few people who, having opposed Bryan four years ago, are now supporting him, although he represents every principle which they then condemned. Mr. Bourke Cochran, for instance, used four years ago stronger language than I would use now. Thus, if you will turn to the New York World, of October 30, 1896, you will see that when an attempt was made to break up a meeting which he was addressing, Mr. Cockran said: 'Bryan and the crowd of lunatics and ruffians who follow him illustrate their platform, which stands for anarchy and riot!' Personally, I should not use the phraseology which Mr. Cockran is reported to have employed, but the thought was true then, and is equally true now. The Kansas City platform, and those who uphold it, stands for the forces of disorder and of National dishonesty, and here, in this State, for the forces of civic dishonesty as well, and when such is the case, we have the right to appeal for the support of every true American."

At Hornellsville, there was a parade of clubs, and the Governor made a speech at the Opera House, saying: "Mr. Bryan is now inclined to laugh at the doctrine of the full dinner pail. Nobody laughed about it four years ago. It is a mighty sight easier to laugh about it when it is full than when it is empty. The only chance Mr. Bryan has is in that queer forgetfulness which people have when they are well off. When a man is well off, he is very apt to be willing to take chances. When he is badly off, then he is more careful."

The Governor was a very hard worked man in New York, making speeches in four score villages and in fifteen cities; the latter, New York, Newburg, Kingston, Syracuse, Watertown, Owego, Rochester, Geneva, Niagara Falls, North Tonawanda, Buffalo, Lockport, Jamestown, Binghamton and Schenectady. In all he must have addressed 500,000 people, and double that number of New Yorkers saw him. The Governor also, everywhere in the State, by his speeches and presence, increased the interest in the Republican canvass. Wherever he traveled, Republican leaders testified to additional strength imparted to the Republican campaign by his tour. After his car was stoned at Waverly, Trogo and Owego, and having in mind his own experience of ruffianism, he said: "Mr. Bryan, by his appeals to class feeling; and Mr. Croker and Senator Jones, by the advice to Democrats to take possession of the polls if dissatisfied with the announcement of the result of the count of ballots, were inciting riot."

Mr. McCullagh, State Superintendent of Elections for the Metropolitan District, addressed communications to the Board of Police, and Chief of Police,





PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AT OYSTER BAY, LONG ISLAND

the Deputy Chief of Police, the Inspectors of Police and to the Mayor, saying he knew of plots made by the lawless element in many election districts to intimidate legal voters at the polls, and to harass them in various violent ways in exercising the franchise. He called on the police, therefore, to enforce the law concerning the closing of liquor saloons on election day, as those places form rallying grounds for these ruffians. He also called on the police to defend the voters from rowdyism.

On the evening of the 5th, the eve of the election, Mr. Waldron, one of the Governor's messengers, hastened to the city from Oyster Bay, bearing a personal letter from the Governor to the Mayor. He went to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, and asked for the aid of one of the employees of the Republican State Committee there in hunting for Mayor Van Wyck. The nature of the communication which he carried was not divulged at the hotel, but one of the employees at State Headquarters, who knew Mayor Van Wyck by sight, volunteered to help Mr. Waldron find the Mayor. They found the Mayor at the Democratic Club about 9 o'clock. The Mayor walked into the reception room to meet them, and there Mr. Waldron handed to him the Governor's letter. The Mayor broke the seal and read the following:

"State of New York,
"Oyster Bay, November 5, 1900.

"To the Mayor of the City of New York:

"Sir:—My attention has been called to the official order issued by Chief of Police Devery, in which he directs his subordinates to disregard the Chief of the State Election Bureau, John McCullagh, and his deputies. Unless you have already taken steps to secure the recall of this order, it is necessary for me to point out that I shall be obliged to hold you responsible as the head of the city government for the action of the Chief of Police, if it should result in any breach of the peace and intimidation or any crime whatever against the election laws. The State and city authorities should work together. I will not fail to call to summary account either State or city authority in the event of either being guilty of intimidation or connivance at fraud or of failure to protect every legal voter in his rights. I therefore hereby notify you that in the event of any wrong-doing following upon the failure immediately to recall Chief Devery's order, or upon any action or inaction on the part of Chief Devery, I must necessarily call you to account.

"Yours, etc.,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

There were also duly delivered the letters following to the Sheriff and District Attorney.

Letter to the Sheriff of New York County relative to the order of the Chief of Police to disregard State Election Bureau:

"State of New York,

"Oyster Bay, November 5, 1900.

"To the Sheriff of the County of New York:

"Sir:—My attention has been called to the official order issued by Chief of Police Devery, in which he directs his subordinates to disregard the Chief of the State Election Bureau, John McCullagh, and his deputies. It is your duty to assist in the orderly enforcement of the law, and I shall hold you strictly responsible for any breach of the public peace within your county, or for any failure on your part to do your full duty in connection with the election tomorrow.

"Yours truly,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Letter to the District Attorney of New York County relative to the order of the Chief of Police to disregard State Election Bureau:

"State of New York,

"Oyster Bay, November 5, 1900.

"To the District Attorney of the County of New York:

"Sir:—My attention has been called to the official order issued by Chief of Police Devery in which he directs his subordinates to disregard the Chief of the State Election Bureau, John McCullagh, and his deputies.

"In view of this order, I call your attention to the fact that it is your duty to assist in the orderly enforcement of the law, and there must be no failure on your part to do your full duty in the matter.

"Yours truly,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

The letters have the ring of cold steel, bearing an edge, in a hand that would smite. It is said "a frown settled on the Mayor's face as he read his letter," and when the Governor's messenger asked the Mayor whether he desired to send a reply to the Governor, he gruffly said, "No, no," and left the messenger abruptly, "to take counsel with Croker and Carroll." As the Mayor was going, he was asked whether he would make a statement, and answered, "No, not a word."

Mr. Carroll would not talk about the Governor's letter. Mr. Croker shut himself in his room upstairs, refusing to see newspaper men or answer their cards. Mr. Whalen said over the telephone that he knew nothing about the Governor's letter and could not talk about it. The Mayor was driven in a cab to police headquarters, where he arrived about 10 o'clock. He went into the office of Chief Devery fifteen minutes after the Chief had arrived in the building. The Mayor and Chief were closeted together for an hour, and no person was admitted or spoken to during that time. When the talk was ended, Chief

Devery sent an officer to the newspaper men to say that the Mayor had something to tell them, and the reporters were invited into the Chief's office. The Mayor sat in Chief Devery's big chair, while the Chief himself said he had received an order from the Mayor, and he then read that order which related to Chief Devery's order to the captains on Sunday regarding the McCullagh men and voters. The Mayor's mandate reads:

"William S. Devery, Chief of Police:

"Sir:—You will at once revoke the order published in this morning's papers and issued from your office on the 4th inst., at 5:20 P. M., relative to the duties of the Police Force on Election Day, and you will issue immediately such further orders as will require your subordinates to co-operate with and assist in the execution and enforcement of the Metropolitan Election District law, Chapter 676, of Laws of 1898, and amendments thereto.

"ROBERT A. VAN WYCK, Mayor."

When the Chief had read the order to the reporters, the Mayor spoke to them saying: "There will be no intimidation or violence at the election to-morrow. It will pass off as quietly as that of a country village. It will be as quiet an election as was ever held in this city. The Chief of Police will take charge of that, and will preserve order. I have the utmost confidence in the Chief. He knows his duties better than I do. He is a perfectly efficient Chief, and understands how to maintain peace and order."

Chief Devery then said that there would be no trouble whatever to-morrow, and that he would enforce the orders of the Mayor to the letter.

Chief Devery sent out the following order late in the night:

"To All in All Boroughs:

"Pursuant to directions received by me from His Honor Mayor Robert A. Van Wyck, and because of the misconstruction placed upon the order which I issued at 5:20 P. M., November 4, 1900, commencing with the words, 'Tactics and methods of intimidation,' etc., you are hereby notified that said order is revoked. You will instruct the members of your command that it is their duty under Section 7 of Chapter 676 of the Laws of 1898, as amended, to co-operate and assist in the execution and enforcement of the Metropolitan Election District law and render aid and assistance to the State Superintendent of Elections and his deputies in the performance of their duties when called upon to do so. Read this at the midnight roll call and at the roll call in the morning prior to the men leaving their stations for duty at the polling places.

"WILLIAM S. DEVERY,

"Chief of Police."

The Chief said afterward: "To-morrow's election will be the fairest ever

held in New York City. I will do all that lies in my power to see that that end is accomplished." The Chief then said "Good-night," and went home.

It made a difference in the State of New York when the Governor came home, especially in the City of New York.

There were no unnecessary words in the letter of the Governor of New York State to the Mayor of New York City, the evening before Presidential election day, November 6, 1900. The hours were swift and time was precious. The sequel appears in the public papers of Governor Roosevelt, page 202 of 1900. There is a statement of the Governor's opinion on the election case tried and decided in short order.

"Matter of the Removal of District Attorney Gardner."

"State of New York,

"Executive Chamber, Albany, December 24, 1900.

"The charge vitally affecting the conduct of the District Attorney is that which relates to his attitude at and about election time toward the indictment of Chief of Police Devery after the latter had issued a scandalously improper and seditious order to the police force under him.

"When the conduct of the District Attorney of the County of New York affects elections, this conduct becomes a matter not merely of County, but of State and National concern. Fraud or violence at the polls in New York County in a National election may concern not merely the County itself, not merely the other Counties of the State, but also the other States of the Union. It is a mere truism to assert that honest elections, free from both fraud and violence, stand at the very basis of our form of Republican self-government. There is no use in discussing principles and issues unless it is settled that the conclusion which the majority reaches upon such principles and issues shall be honestly recorded in the election itself. There can be no possible justification for any man, and above all for any public officer, failing to do everything in his power to prevent crime against the ballot box. No more serious crime against the State, and in time of peace, no crime as serious, can be committed.

"Before the election last November, there was the most open incitement by certain leading politicians to violence and fraud at the polls. In New York State in particular, this incitement took the form of a naked appeal to mob violence—the leader of one of the two great parties in this State urging his followers in repeated public utterances to gather at the polls and criminally assault the officers of the law in certain contingencies. Utterances such as these, of course, excited great public uneasiness and bade fair to cause the most serious disturbances; but there was nothing to be done regarding them so long as they were only the utterances of individuals in private life.

"When, however, the Chief of Police of the City of New York issued a public order to his subordinates in which he incited them to criminal violation of

the law—an order which was certain to cow and terrorize some men, and to encourage the entire disorderly and lawless element—the situation became so grave as to call for the interference of the Chief Executive of the State. Accordingly, the Chief Executive notified the Mayor, the Sheriff and the District Attorney that in view of the issuance of this order they would be held to a strict accountability for their acts in preserving, or failing to preserve, the public peace.

“The Mayor and Sheriff promptly responded to this notification, expressing and showing their desire to see that the laws were observed, the Mayor taking immediate steps to force the Chief of Police to rescind the obnoxious order itself. About the same time the grand jury found an indictment against the Chief of Police for having issued it.

“Alone, among the other city officials charged with the solemn duty of enforcing the laws, the District Attorney on whom rested the heaviest responsibility in the enforcement of the law, gave by public utterance, aid and comfort to the Chief of Police. There is a flat conflict of veracity between the District Attorney and his accusers on the point. In the newspapers of the day following, those containing the publications of the Chief of Police’s order, there appeared interviews with the District Attorney in which he attacked the grand jury and justified the action of the Chief of Police. To give out such interviews was, of course, to give active encouragement to every element in the community which was enlisted upon the side of fraud or violence. The District Attorney denies that he gave them out. Two witnesses have testified that he independently gave them interviews which were substantially the same, and in one case the testimony is explicit that he was informed the interview was for publication. These interviews, and others like them, appeared conspicuously in the various morning papers, and were never repudiated then or afterwards by the District Attorney. He never acknowledged in any way the receipt of the notification by the Chief Executive, which, if anything, had been needed, would certainly have called his attention to the gravity of the situation and have aroused his vigilance as to anything he might say or had said. Under the circumstances it is impossible to believe that he did not give any such interview, or that he was ignorant of its publication. It is equally incredible that he could have been ignorant of the effect that might be produced by such public statements from that County official, whose special duty it should have been to see to the observance of the law in the County. Had the other officials concerned assumed or preserved a similar attitude, the very gravest consequences might have ensued, and the District Attorney can not be allowed to profit by the fact that the action of others prevented the evil consequences of his own acts.

“As to the charges that the District Attorney failed in his duty in assisting the officials of the Attorney General’s office who were concerned in preventing

violations of the election laws, it appears that there was such failure in at any rate certain cases prior to the election. This does not appear to have been the case after the election.

"It is impossible again to accept the plea that acts like these are to be excused on the ground that they spring from folly, rather than from intent to do wrong.

"Under these circumstances, the District Attorney of the County of New York is removed from office.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Rarely in History has a greater service been performed than that of the Governor of New York, November 5, 1900, in the crushing out of disorder that had countenance and orders from the police. If that had been the only act of Theodore Roosevelt's life, he would have been remembered for it, and honored forever. The best of it was, the iron hand meant and made peace. The decisive act was directly in the interest of the free people of a continent governing themselves.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SPECIAL TRAIN IN POLITICS.

It Is an Agency That Serves to Make the People a Harmonious Nation—It Binds the Union to Make the Nation a Neighborhood of States—Roosevelt's Campaigning in New York and the West—Bryan's Competition—Roosevelt Fights to the Finish—List of His Literary Works.

WHEN Charles Dickens was in this country, on his second visit, he was asked at the Delmonico Dinner given him by journalists, whether he would be able to go West again. His answer, "No, your country is too big for me." He got to Buffalo and the Niagara Falls, and thought he had done bravely. If he could have been provided with a well equipped special train, or even the hospitality of a special car, he might have been wafted to California, and ascertained the sensations of crossing the continent are those of living in a well appointed hotel on wheels, and found the traveler rests more softly on rails and wheels of steel than would be possible with metal of less tensile strength. One needs steel to rest "flowery beds of ease" upon.

It is the bigness of our country that introduces the Special Train, into the politics of the Nation. Once Europeans boasted that they put the weight of iron of railroads, rather in the roadbed than the carriages, and contrasted themselves to our disadvantage, saying we had comparatively light roads and ponderous trains. Those who remember the light carriages that cross the European disunited countries, will say that comfort is not promoted by cars that shiver at high speed, and cause the feeling as if possibly the ride was in a flying machine with an eccentric oscillation that permits no rest. We use an enormous quantity of steel in rails, and do not seek to reduce the weight of trains. The quantity of steel in bridges gives the sense and the reality of safety, and the heavy cars have a steady bearing on the rails with the wheels. The contact of steel surfaces gives a silky smoothness. Our comforts on long journeys are remarkable, and the excellence of the trains quite keeps pace with the solidity of the roads, making trans-continental rides agreeable diversions.

Mr. William J. Bryan's energies as a traveler and speaker were in both his Presidential campaigns prodigious, and his invention of a special train

system, obtaining the cost of transportation in competitive subscriptions, saved heavy expenses for other material uses.

In 1896, the influence of the ways of meeting and greeting the people, by opposing candidates for the greater office, was studied anxiously on both sides. Mr. Bryan was in rapid movement for months, and had wonderful endurance. He called upon the masses of the people, who were aroused to see and hear him, for contributions. McKinley received the people at his house, and the swarming delegations calling upon him made a constant stir, with crowded trains, thundering guns and sonorous, patriotic music. When he was a candidate for re-election, the custom almost unbroken of keeping the President from the stump, was continued. The Administration had sufficient force to speak for itself. The President's strength belonged to the charge of official duties. The special train of the second officer of the Government was called for emphatically. It was the feeling there was need of him in his own State, and in the West. The hope of the opposition was that they could carry the silver and mountain States, and throw the election into New York. Roosevelt was the ideal candidate for the Administration, both in New York—his home State—and in the West, where he could fairly be said to have been naturalized.

His ability, popularity and endurance was not called upon in vain. The drafts were honored, excessive though they seemed. The Western journey, during which a distance was traveled almost equal to the circumference of the globe, overshadowed the two earlier journeys—first to Oklahoma, and then to the Northwest, and also the slavish labors of the Governor of his own State.

We give the itinerary of Governor Roosevelt's special train, from October 22nd to November 3rd, 1900.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S SPECIAL TRAIN IN NEW YORK, 1900.

Monday, October 22nd.

Leave	Arrive
Weehawken, 11:00 A. M. (West Shore).	West Nyack, 11:50 A. M.
West Nyack, 12:00 M.	Congers, 12:08 P. M.
Congers, 12:13 P. M.	Haverstraw, 12:18 P. M.
Haverstraw, 12:28 P. M.	Cornwall, 12:58 P. M.
Cornwall, 1:20 P. M.	Newburgh, 1:28 P. M.
	Dinner, 2:30 P. M.; Speech, 3:00 P. M.
Newburgh, 5:00 P. M.	Kingston, 6:00 P. M.

Tuesday, October 23rd.

Kingston, 9:00 A. M. (U. & D. R. R.).	West Hurley, 9:30 A. M.
West Hurley, 9:40 A. M.	Phoenicia, 10:00 A. M.
Phoenicia, 10:20 A. M.	Pine Hill, 10:55 A. M.



SPEAKING FROM THE REAR OF SPECIAL TRAIN IN THE WEST, 1900

NEW YORK
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125 WEST 47TH STREET
NEW YORK 10019

Pine Hill, 11:05 A. M.....Fleischmans, 11:10 A. M.
 Fleischmans, 11:20 A. M.....Arkville, 11:30 A. M.
 Arkville, 11:45 A. M.....Roxbury, 12:00 M.
 Roxbury, 12:10 P. M.....Stamford, 12:25 P. M.
 Stamford, 1:25 P. M.....Bloomville, 2:00 P. M.
 Bloomville, 2:10 P. M.....Davenport Center, 2:45 P. M.
 Davenport Center, 2:50 P. M.....Oneonta, 3:05 P. M.
 Oneonta, 4:05 P. M. (D. & H. R. R.)..Unadilla, 4:30 P. M.
 Unadilla, 4:45 P. M.Sidney, 5:05 P. M.
 Sidney, 5:20 P. M. (Ont. & W. R. R.)..Norwich, 6:20 P. M.

Wednesday, October 24th.

Norwich, 10:00 A. M.....Earlville, 10:50 A. M.
 Earlville, 11:00 A. M.....Cazenovia, 11:55 A. M.
 Cazenovia, 12:05 P. M.....Canastota, 1:05 P. M.
 Canastota, 1:15 P. M. (N. Y. C.).....Oneida, 1:24 P. M.
 Oneida, 1:44 P. M.....Rome, 2:02 P. M.
 Rome, 2:22 P. M.....Utica, 2:45 P. M.
 Utica, 5:10 P. M.....Herkimer, 5:35 P. M.
 Herkimer, 6:00 P. M.....Utica, 6:20 P. M.

Thursday, October 25th.

Utica, 8:00 A. M. (via Rome 8:20 A. M.)Camden, 8:45 A. M.
 Camden, 9:00 A. M.....Watertown, 10:30 A. M.
 Watertown, 11:30 A. M.....Oswego, 1:15 P. M.
 Oswego, 2:15 P. M. (Dinner).....Sterling, 2:45 P. M.
 Sterling, 3:00 P. M. (Lehigh Valley)...Weedsport, 3:45 P. M.
 Weedsport, 4:00 P. M.....Auburn, 4:25 P. M.
 Auburn, 5:30 P. M. (N. Y. C.).....Syracuse, 6:30 P. M.

Friday, October 26th.

Syracuse, 8:30 A. M.....Little Falls, 10:30 A. M.
 Little Falls, 10:45 A. M.....Amsterdam, 11:45 A. M.
 Amsterdam, 12:00 M.....Schenectady, 12:20 P. M.
 Schenectady, 1:20 P. M.....Albany, 1:50 P. M.
 Albany, 2:00 P. M.....New York, 5:30 P. M.
 Square Garden).

Saturday, October 27th.

Jersey City, 9:30 A. M. (Erie).....Suffern, 10:25 A. M.
 Suffern, 10:30 A. M.....Hillburn, 10:35 A. M.
 Hillburn, 10:40 A. M.....Middletown, 11:35 A. M.
 Middletown, 12:20 P. M.....Port Jervis, 1:00 P. M.
 Port Jervis, 1:30 P. M.....Shohola, Pa., 1:50 P. M.
 Shohola, 1:55 P. M.....Lackawaxen, 2:00 P. M.

Lackawaxen, 2:05 P. M. Cochection, 2:30 P. M.
 Cochection, 2:35 P. M. Callicoon Depot, 2:45 P. M.
 Callicoon Depot, 2:55 P. M. Long Eddy, 3:10 P. M.
 Long Eddy, 3:20 P. M. Hancock, 3:50 P. M.
 Hancock, 4:10 P. M. Deposit, 4:35 P. M.
 Deposit, 4:50 P. M. Susquehanna, Pa., 5:25 P. M.
 Susquehanna, 6:05 P. M. Great Bend, 6:15 P. M.
 Great Bend, 6:20 P. M. Binghamton, 6:40 P. M.

SUNDAY AT BINGHAMTON.

Monday, October 29th.

Leave	Arrive
Binghamton, 10:00 A. M. (D. L. & W.).	Cortland, 11:00 A. M.
Cortland, 12:00 M. (E. C. & N.).	Ithaca, 1:00 P. M.
Ithaca, 4:00 P. M.	Elmira, 6:00 P. M.

Tuesday, October 30th.

Elmira, 8:00 A. M. Corning, 8:25 A. M.
 Corning, 8:40 A. M. Bath, 9:20 A. M.
 Bath, 9:30 A. M. Wayland, 10:15 A. M.
 Wayland, 10:25 A. M. Livonia, 10:55 A. M.
 Livonia, 11:00 A. M. Avon, 11:20 A. M.
 Avon, 11:30 A. M. Geneseo, 11:45 A. M.
 Geneseo, 12:10 P. M. Rochester, 1:30 P. M.
 Rochester, 2:10 P. M. (N. Y. C.). Canandaigua, 3:05 P. M.
 Canandaigua, 3:30 P. M. Geneva, 4:15 P. M.
 Geneva, 4:30 P. M. Penn Yan, 5:20 P. M.
 Penn Yan, 5:50 P. M. Rochester, 8:00 P. M.

Wednesday, October 31st.

Rochester, 9:20 A. M. Brockport, 9:50 A. M.
 Brockport, 10:00 A. M. Holley, 10:12 A. M.
 Holley, 10:22 A. M. Albion, 10:35 A. M.
 Albion, 10:45 A. M. Medina, 11:05 A. M.
 Medina, 11:25 A. M. Lockport, 11:55 A. M.
 Lockport, 1:00 P. M. Niagara Falls, 1:45 P. M.
 Niagara Falls, 2:45 P. M. North Tonawanda, 3:00 P. M.
 North Tonawanda, 3:30 P. M. Buffalo, 4:00 P. M.

Thursday, November 1st.

Buffalo, 9:30 A. M. (Erie). Batavia, 9:40 A. M.
 Batavia, 10:00 A. M. Attica, 10:25 A. M.
 Attica, 10:35 A. M. Warsaw, 11:10 A. M.

Warsaw, 11:30 A. M. Silver Springs, 11:45 A. M.
 Silver Springs, 11:55 A. M. Gainesville, 12:10 P. M.
 Gainesville, 12:15 P. M. Bliss, 12:25 P. M.
 Bliss, 12:30 P. M. Ellicottville, 1:25 P. M.
 Ellicottville, 1:30 P. M. Salamanca, 1:45 P. M.
 Salamanca, 2:15 P. M. Little Valley, 2:30 P. M.
 Little Valley, 2:40 P. M. Cattaraugus, 2:55 P. M.
 Cattaraugus, 3:00 P. M. Dayton, 3:15 P. M.
 Dayton, 3:20 P. M. Dunkirk, 4:00 P. M.
 Dunkirk, 5:00 P. M. Jamestown, 6:40 P. M.

Friday, November 2nd.

Jamestown, 9:00 A. M. (Eastern Time). Randolph, 9:25 A. M.
 Randolph, 9:35 A. M. Olean, 10:40 A. M.
 Olean, 12:45 P. M. Cuba, 1:05 P. M.
 Cuba, 1:20 P. M. Friendship, 1:35 P. M.
 Friendship, 1:45 P. M. Wellsville, 2:05 P. M.
 Wellsville, 2:45 P. M. Hornellsville, 3:30 P. M.
 Hornellsville, 5:00 P. M. Addison, 5:40 P. M.
 Addison, 6:00 P. M. Waverly, 7:00 P. M.
 Waverly, 7:10 P. M. Owego, 7:45 P. M.
 Owego, 11:00 P. M. New York.

Saturday, November 3rd—Arrive New York City about seven o'clock.

It should be in mind looking over this list of appointments, that they were filled after the Oklahoma journey, and that the most important work anyone did at any time during the campaign was after the imposing programme had been carried out, including keeping the peace in New York City by readiness for war, and speaking at Oyster Bay, to home friends and neighbors. The master stroke was the one by which the Governor of the State called down the Mayor of New York City. It was well when the Governor got home that the situation was clear to the Mayor.

Mr. Roosevelt preserved his strength for the duties of the closing days of the campaign, by insisting upon regular habits, and subjecting himself and those in his company to a discipline of personal caretaking, the most important item being sufficient sleep, the next moderate eating, simple food, and certain precautions to give Mr. Roosevelt intervals, brief but very desirable, of relief from conversation about the campaign. Of course, such a campaign would have been impossible without the special train system.

The use of special trains for political campaigning has been so often tried that it is made scientific. It is well understood what is wanted and how to provide. The railroad facilities do almost, if not altogether, as much to hold

the vast diversified Union together, as the reference of local questions to the States and the identification of specialties with sections—all aiding in keeping the balance of trade with us. The fact that the National Capital, near the Eastern border, appears immovable is accounted for by the steel roads across the continent, the comfort of travel and the rapidity of journeys.

An argument for not securing our title to Oregon was that if a Representative had to make an annual journey between his constituency and the seat of government, his whole time would be taken up, as it was a six months' ride from where the Oregon rolled to where the Potomac lapsed into the tidal water. An anti-Oregon speech to this effect was made in Congress. Now one can make the trip in a week and rest two of the days.

The most superb special train that ever made so long an excursion before the one provided for President McKinley and Mrs. McKinley and the Cabinet across the continent, and were as often as desired in direct contact by wire with the several Departments, was that of Governor Roosevelt in 1900. The headquarters of the Government of the United States were on the train, and all business transacted as promptly as if the responsible men were in Washington. The freedom of the news that is gathered from all parts of the world, the easy and thrifty use of the telegraph and telephone from city to city, the speed and regularity of the mails, the impossibility of a monopoly of news; the certainty that all the news of all the peoples and nations is sold for a cent a day, puts the busy millions and the master minds in close connection. The Capital City may be thousands of miles away, but it is heard from every hour, makes it near for all. Time and space are annihilated by wires.

No man who labors is without means, except when in sudden trouble, to buy from day to day the news of the world, and with that there is a ready solution of mysteries, and common intelligence is kindred to general opportunity. The private car that may travel a mile a minute is an expensive luxury—a home restricted in latitude crossing the continent, but not parallels.

As it was public policy for the President to remain at his country home, and address the public in written communications, when the issue of his re-election was before the people, it was held to be required that the Vice-Presidential candidate should be called upon to go forth to meet the people. Mr. Roosevelt's tour carried him before the people of half the States of the Union. He was at the front where the combat was hard and hot, meeting audiences aggregating millions, journeying more than twenty-two thousand miles—all this within eight weeks. His special train consisted of observation, dining, sleeping and luggage cars, and one for passing guests and committees. There were reliable railroad employees—experts in all the offices of handling trains and serving travelers. The main matter was to give the Governor of New York, and candidate for the Vice-Presidency, such attention that he should

be in condition for the severe strain of his task. The speeches averaged about fourteen a day, when there was not detention in large towns. The audiences numbered from a few hundred or two or three thousand to five or ten thousand, and multitudes that could not be numbered. There were long processions through cities, with countless swarms covering the streets and roofs and packing the yards and doors and windows for miles. Mr. Roosevelt is a very strong man, and on his great journey managed to be the higher authority in the care for himself. He had to decline many suggestions of hospitality. He thought it necessary when, as was the case at all the speaking places, he should have to himself an interval of a few minutes, from five to fifteen, between the committee that belonged at an appointed town and remained, and the one that got on to be useful at the next place. He took time to himself from the movement of the train to within a certain number of minutes of the next stop and speech; and his way of resting was to pick up one of two books on his desk—a classic (Latin) and a novel (spirited but light)—and he would release himself from the pressure of the surroundings, to read something remote as attainable from the theme of the speeches and the thoughts of the people. Nothing rested him like the interludes with an ancient poet or a modern novelist.

There was a stirring speaker with him, an old college friend, who could be relied upon to entertain a mass of people with great intelligence, and his voice rang clear all the while. His anecdotes were excellent. He was as good to occupy time as a brass band, or a bugler. Such a lieutenant is most desirable in across-the-continent stump speaking. Mr. Roosevelt was much in earnest, and talked with fearless freedom about the opposing persons and policies; and he was not habitually careful of his phrases. More than that, the crowds seemed to know that when "Teddy" was kindled, he gave a fiery interest to what he was saying, and this was an entertainment equal to a drama. Often there were disturbers whose language was not meant to be polite, and it was not hard to get a rise out of the Governor.

Not unfrequently the local politicians, feeling that things were going on well, liked to talk about the prospects, and Mr. Roosevelt invited them not to talk at the same time he did. As a rule, there were from fifty to one hundred and fifty yards to walk from the car to the platform, and if carriages were taken, the ride was from a furlong to a quarter of a mile. It was in the smaller towns that the minimum of police protection was attainable, and the committees of escort were modest. Mr. Roosevelt understood it, and if no one broke through the crowd for him, he took the lead, and had the knack of shaking hands right and left, putting his friends aside just enough to force his way, step upon the car stairs, take the platform, hat in hand, and bow as the wheels began to go around. In half a minute after this he would be in his favorite

corner, book in hand, reading as if "getting a lesson," as the school children say. Sometimes, where there were some hours of a night spent, he consented to be a guest and sleep in a house, but not often. With a good bed on the car, and just the attention he needed—no more—it was the customary make-up of the time table that there was a long run to make before morning. At the same time, the talking traveler must have sleep, and not talk at unseemly times and places and of themes that are wearing. Mr. Roosevelt is fond of good advice, asks for it frankly and heartily, and has a well developed taste as to true goodness. He made the train his home, performed feats of sleep most refreshing, and when the day dawned, he was fit for a day's work; and he held a reserve of force with which to fight the finish, though there was hardly a conjecture it would turn out as important as it did.

STATES IN THEIR ORDER, AND PRINCIPAL CITIES THEREIN,
VISITED BY GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1900.

MICHIGAN—Detroit, Lansing, Saginaw, Bay City, Grand Rapids, Holland, Niles.

WISCONSIN—La Crosse.

MINNESOTA—Fergus Falls.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Sioux Falls, Mitchell, Huron, Pierre, Chamberlain, Deadwood, Rapid City.

NORTH DAKOTA—Fargo, Bismarck, Grand Fork, Dickinson, Medora.

MONTANA—Miles City, Billings, Butte, Helena, Boulder, Great Falls, Kalispell.

IDAHO—Boise, St. Anthony, Blackfoot, Pocatello, Rock Creek.

UTAH—Logan, Brigham, Ogden, Salt Lake City.

WYOMING—Green River, Rock Springs, Rawlins, Laramie, Cheyenne.

COLORADO—Denver, Colorado Springs, Leadville, Pueblo, Cripple Creek, Victor, Durango.

KANSAS—Dodge City, Sterling, Newton, Topeka, Kansas City, Lawrence.

NEBRASKA—Lincoln, Omaha, Hastings, McCook, Fremont.

MISSOURI—Kansas City, St. Louis.

IOWA—Dubuque, Cedar Rapids, Burlington, Waterloo.

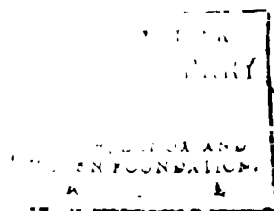
ILLINOIS—Chicago, Joliet, Galesburg, Bloomington, Quincy, Springfield, East St. Louis, Peoria, Cairo, Elgin.

INDIANA—South Bend, Fort Wayne, Decatur, Muncie, Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Evansville.

KENTUCKY—Louisville, Lexington, Morehead, Covington, London.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND SECRETARY CORTELYOU



OHIO—Cincinnati, Hamilton, Springfield, Dayton, Toledo, Columbus, Cleveland.

WEST VIRGINIA—Huntington, Wheeling, Parkersburg, Charleston.

MARYLAND—Baltimore.

NEW YORK—New York City, Newburg, Kingston, Binghamton, Ithaca, Hornellsville, Corning, Cortland, Auburn, Syracuse, Lyons, Rochester, Buffalo, Utica, Schenectady, Watertown, Ogdensburg.

This formidable list is not sufficient to do full justice to the subject. The full New York list contains the names of two hundred towns. The greatest demonstration in Ohio was at Toledo. Roosevelt made forty speeches in the State. His great tour West began in Michigan and continued through the States named above. Eleven States West of the Mississippi were visited in the tour that included Montana, and earlier in the season he was in Arkansas and Oklahoma.

THE PRESIDENT'S LITERARY WORK.

The productiveness of the pen of Theodore Roosevelt is phenomenal, or would be if he were not a phenomenon of energy and industry. We have been at pains to collect an almost complete list of his books. It will be noted that one of the books sold for \$15.00, and that the Sagamore edition consists of fifteen volumes. We have to say, however, that the most important, in the sense that they are the most instructive of the volumes turned out by the President's brilliant and busy pen, are the Public Papers produced while he was Governor of New York.

The Naval War of 1812, or The History of the United States Navy during the Last War with Great Britain. 1882—\$2.50—Putnam.

Essays on Practical Politics. 1888—75c—Putnam.

Gouverneur Morris. 1888—\$1.25—Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Hunting Trips of a Ranchman (Medora Edition). 1885—\$15.00—Putnam.

Life of Thomas Hart Benton (American Statesmen Series). 1887—\$1.25—Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail. 1888—\$5.00—Century Co.

Winning of the West. 1889—two volumes—\$5.00—Putnam.

New York (Historic Towns). 1891—\$1.25—Longmans.

Wilderness Hunter. Account of the big games of the United States. 1893—\$3.50—Putnam.

Winning of the West, Volume 3, Founding of the Trans-Allegheny Commonwealths, 1784-1790. 1894—\$2.50—Putnam.

American Big Game Hunting (Roosevelt and G. Grinnell). Book of the Boone and Crockett Club. 1893—\$2.50—Forest.

American Ideals, and Other Essays, Social and Political. 1897—\$1.50—Putnam.

Hero Tales from American History, Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge. 1895—\$1.50—Century Company.

New York (new edition with a postscript, 1890-1895). 1895—\$1.25—Longmans.

Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail (new popular edition). 1896—\$2.50—Century Company.

Winning of the West, Volume 4, Louisiana and the Northwest, 1791-1807. 1896—\$2.50—Putnam.

Trail and Camp Fire (Roosevelt and G. B. Grinnell) Book of the Boone and Crockett Club. 1896—\$2.50—Forest.

Hunting in Many Lands (Roosevelt and Grinnell). Book of the Boone and Crockett Club. Volume 2. 1895—\$2.50—Forest.

Theodore Roosevelt's Works, Sagamore edition, Putnam, 1900. 15 Volumes, cloth per volume 50c, paper 25c.

Episodes from The Winning of the West, 1767-1807—Putnam—1900 (Knickerbocker Literature Series). Cloth 90c.

Oliver Cromwell. 1900—\$2.00—1900.

The Strenuous Life; essays and addresses. 1900—\$1.50—Century Company.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES.

The Wilderness Hunter, Atlantic Monthly, No. 75, page 826.

Admiral Dewey, McClure, No. 13, page 483-91.

Military Preparedness and Unpreparedness, Century, No. 59, page 149-53.

Reform through Social Work, McClure, No. 16, page 448-54.

Governor William H. Taft, Outlook, No. 69, page 166-8.

With the Cougar Hounds, Scribner, No. 30, page 417-35.

Oliver Cromwell, Scribner, January to June, 1900.

Fellow Feeling as a Political Factor, Century, January, 1900.

Political Impracticabilities, Living Age, December, 1900.

Latitude and Longitude among Reformers, Century, June, 1900.

Mad Anthony Wayne's Victory, Harper's Monthly, No. 92, page 702-16.

St. Clair's Defeat, Harper's Monthly, No. 92, page 387-433.

Address at the Opening of the Naval War College, Public Opinion, No. 22, page 740.

Ethnology of the Polite, Munsey, No. 17, page 395-9.

How Not to Better Social Conditions, Review of Reviews, No. 15, page 36-9.

Layman's Views on Specific Nomenclature, Science, April 30, page 685-8.

On Adams' Law of Civilization and Decay, Forum, No. 22, page 575-89.

Review of Mahan's Life of Nelson, Bookman, June, 1897.

Roll of Honor of New York Police, Century, October, 1897.

Fights between Iron Clads, Century, April 1898.

Letter on United States Navy, Review of Reviews, January, 1898.

Letter to Secretary Alger, Public Opinion, August 11, 1898.

Need of a Navy, Review of Reviews, February, 1898.

Re-organization of the Naval Personnel; Genesis of the Personnel Bill,
North American, December, 1898.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RIDE FROM MOUNT MARCY.

From the Source of the Hudson to the Niagara River—How Roosevelt Came to be on Mount Marcy When McKinley Died—Delay of Information and Rush from the Adirondacks to Lake Erie—The Splendid Story of the Ride.

ABSORBED in the sudden announcement of the failure of President McKinley's strength, the people of all countries gave little attention for the moment, to the movements of his successor, knowing that in the critical days, when hope of the recovery of the President was entertained, but grave danger known, the Vice-President was close at hand; and in the period of confidence, he hastened to the Northern mountains of New York, to be with his wife and children, for a change from the air of the sea. It was ascertained, too, that when the relapse was followed fast with "unmerciful disaster," Mr. Roosevelt was speedily where duty called him. The fact that he had made a journey full of perils was not well known, or much regarded. It comes out, however, that the ride from the tiny lake on the loftiest Adirondack, to the city identified with the sublime torrent of Niagara, was one of startling risk. A writer close to the centres of official intelligence, dating at New York, wrote accurate information of Roosevelt's second trip during the tragic days across the State of New York, saying it was one of the most trying experiences a traveler ever had to come out of safely.

"Some of his friends, who met him in Buffalo after his arrival on Saturday last, have been in communication with others, who were intimates of his in this city, and they report that it seemed to them that he has been tried as though by fire when he came out of the north woods after that dark and dramatic night ride over the mountains, he came out of uncertainty, in which he had been given every reason to hope for the best, into the appalling certainty that his hopes were groundless.

"He entered his car at the foothills of the Adirondacks a little after sunrise, not to leave it until eight hours later, when he was at the station in Buffalo. He was alone. He had not one friend to turn to for consolation or for counsel. He found himself suddenly in the presence of appalling responsibilities, and not one of his friends has any doubt that every moment of that swift and silent

ride within a curtained car across New York State he devoted to the most intensely careful examination, and to solemn, no doubt prayerful, consideration of the part he was to take, and the manner in which he was to take it."

It was immediately after his return that Roosevelt refused to allow a guard to be around him, friends saying he was the one man who could afford to consent to be carefully guarded; but his better judgment prevailed, and he rebuked, so far as in his power, those who hailed him demonstratively on the streets when they knew he had taken the oath of office. He was waited upon at Buffalo, in the matter of an alleged vacancy in the White House staff. Appointments upon that staff, which might be called the official family of the President, are always left entirely to him. When President Roosevelt had this matter referred to him, he said, with some asperity: "Don't bother me with anything of that character now."

When the fatal crisis came in McKinley's case, the Vice-President had taken all precautions to be instantly informed if there was an unfavorable turn, but all safeguards against surprise failed. The dreadful news of imminent danger flashed forth unexpectedly. It was the custom of the country for those hastening from Mt. Marcy to the railroad to drive in dizzy whirls around the edges of steep places, taking such luck as comes with rapid movement, along roads that are narrow notches unguarded beside steep places. The important passenger, called in the night and the wilderness to make this journey with the utmost speed, was held by the whip to be a man who should have particular care bestowed upon him. Therefore, when the ticklish turns were approached, the man for whose presence far away there was urgency, was warned that it might be well to "hold up" a little, calling attention to the presence of a precarious bit of road; but got for answer only the reply, "push on," with further notice that the hurried traveler was satisfied with the driver, and desired no precautions. The quick, firm "push on" took the nervousness out of the whip, and the saying was that the Rough Rider Colonel "had his nerves with him," and was not bothered in the least by the drive, which was as dangerous as dismal.

At the termination of the giddy race down and around the mountain, on emerging from the deep shadows, there was a shrill locomotive and glittering car waiting. Here the Vice-President was told the news that the President was dead, having passed away in the early hours of that memorable morning.

One of the most trying of the experiences of President Roosevelt, was the lonesome hours after he took the dark ride through the Northern forest along the central slope of the highest mountain in the State. He entered his car at sunrise, having suddenly faced the certainty that the President had seen the last of earth. The car ride was eight hours, and he had them for communion with himself. Those who met him at Buffalo said he was as one who had been "tried by fire," and come to a full understanding with himself. He had

in meditation measured his task and would not swerve from his conclusions, but pursue with fixed resolution the course marked out. The ride in the darkness had been a season of thoughtfulness, in which he was forgetful of surroundings. This was repeated at greater length in the closely curtained car. He had the day from morning until afternoon to himself; and in the silences saw along the dim vistas the shadows we are and pursue, unheeding the haunting voices of the wheels. Emerging with self-command from solitude he silently accepted the uncertainties. There was soon evident the maturity of formulated purpose in his acts, but no tentative suggestiveness. There was no wavering in word or deed, but the clear accent of the "high resolve" of which Abraham Lincoln spoke in the oration at Gettysburg. There were dramatic features that will thrill those who study the mimic stage, for generations, in the ride of Roosevelt across the State of New York to do his duty.

It fell to the lot of a correspondent of the New York Herald, to write a description of the wild ride worthy to live in literature. His letter is a picture that has a wierd fascination, and must always have a place in the history of the Heroic Life of the President:

"Saratoga Springs, Saturday, September 15, 1901.—To charge at the head of troopers up San Juan Hill, glory certain whether the death he tempted awaited him or not—that was, of course, a courageous thing.

"Yet many men have done the same before and until war ends many will do the same again. To sit miserably cooped up in a covered mountain buckboard, with none save a silent driver for witness, to whirl dizzily through inky darkness along frightful precipices, where a single misstep of the maddened horses meant death as surely as a Spanish bullet; honor, the highest in his country's power, waiting also at the end of the journey, yet in this case counseling caution rather than courage; to do this not for five intoxicating minutes, but for hour after weary hour, and all the time, instead of faltering, urge his reckless driver on to still higher speed, proves President Theodore Roosevelt's title to being a man of iron will and nerve.

"The full story of that ride will never be written. Save a few frightened deer, roused by the splashing hoofs and peering wide-eyed at the swaying lantern through the fog, there was no spectator of the journey. The drivers, trained hunters from their youth, have learned silence as the first lesson of their calling, and questions elicit naught save the barest outline of the trip.

"'Well, I knew, by feel of the wagon, we were off the road once or twice, and I told Mr. Roosevelt we might be a hundred feet below the next moment for all I could tell, but he just told me to "Go ahead!"' said Driver Kellogg.

"'Yes, the horses stumbled badly once, and I wanted to slow up; but he said, "Keep right on!"' admitted Cronin.

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By Courtesy of J. N. H. Photographer.

MRS. THEODORE ROOSEVELT

"Many years ago an Indian appeared at Albany bearing samples of a wonderfully rich iron ore. But few deposits were known in this country at that time, and the ore samples created excitement. A party of exploration was organized, and for a sufficient quantity of 'firewater' the red man conducted them far into the heart of the Adirondack Mountains, where a vein of unusually fine ore was discovered. A company was formed, in which Joseph Bonaparte, the former King of Spain, was largely interested, and preparations were made to open a mine. Transporting the ore itself was out of the question, so smelters were built on the spot, and the pig iron was carted down the rudest of mountain roads to civilization. A hamlet of five hundred souls sprang up in the midst of the forest, and the roar of the blast was never silent until, one gray afternoon, William Henderson, the manager, shot himself, whether accidentally or not no one will ever know, on a little island in the middle of Calamity Pond. Like magic all work ceased immediately upon the news of his death. The iron company collapsed, the five hundred busy workers vanished, and to-day the visitor to the Upper Tahawas Club house is shown the tawny brick cupolas, with damper still in place, and the company houses so strangely and suddenly deserted sixty years ago. The land owned by the company lay unmolested until 1875, when a party of New Yorkers, Dr. Wheelock among them, leased the whole ninety-six thousand acres for hunting and fishing purposes. This was the start of the Adirondack Club, one of the most exclusive and conservative organizations in the country.

"When Mrs. Roosevelt concluded that her two children, just from the hospital, would thrive better in pure mountain air, the suggestion of Mr. McNaughton, an old friend of the family, that they should occupy his cottage at the club, was gladly accepted. Here, at the foot of Mount Marcy, the giant of the Adirondacks, Mr. Roosevelt's family were quietly living, while in the busy world below great and terrible events were happening, and the first strands of the invisible, yet irresistible, web of fate were cast around them, to drag them—most unwillingly, all accounts agree—out into the brightest lime-light of publicity.

"How Mr. Roosevelt hastened to Buffalo at the first news of the murderous attack on President McKinley's life is current history. It was only after he had been positively assured by three of the President's physicians that Mr. McKinley would almost certainly recover that he felt he might safely leave to visit his family. There is something cruelly unjust in the stories that Mr. Roosevelt went on a hunting trip while the stricken President battled bravely against death. It is a fact beyond dispute that not once during his stay at the Tahawas Club did he suggest hunting. His grief at the assassin's deed was as sincere and outspoken as all his other acts, and he was in no mood for even his favorite sport.

"Mr. Roosevelt's position in Buffalo was, under the circumstances, a peculiarly difficult and delicate one. Whether he should go or stay, there were sure to be critics in plenty. The thought of his sick children urged him to go. Before leaving Buffalo, however, he arranged with two persons in whose cool judgment he felt he could trust to telegraph to him if any change should take place in President McKinley's condition.

"On Wednesday evening, September 11, Mr. Roosevelt reached the Upper Club House, where his family was stopping. It is always spoken of as 'the Upper Club House,' although the building rightfully entitled to that name is merely a general meeting place, with a special dining room for all the ten or more cottages scattered around. Everything that was heard from President McKinley was still in the highest degree encouraging; and on Thursday morning Mr. Roosevelt planned a little trip up as far as Colton Lake with Mr. McIntyre, the two Robinson boys and his family. It is a good five-mile tramp over a rough trail up to the lake from the Tahawas Club House, but Mrs. Roosevelt shares her husband's love of stirring exercise, and with the exception of the two youngest children, the entire family made the trip. Two guides, Edward Dimmock and Noe La Casse, accompanied the party. The plan was to spend the night at the open camp belonging to the club on the lake and return the next morning. Still, there was no thought of hunting, and the only gun in the party was carried by Mr. Robinson.

"In the meanwhile, many miles away the silent poison had begun its fatal work. Friday morning the country hung around the bulletin boards, all the first fears reawakened by the ominous news of the change for the worse in the President's condition. At a quarter past eight o'clock in the morning two messages from Secretary Cortelyou reach North Creek, the terminus of the telegraph line, saying that the President was in a precarious condition and gravest results were apprehended. Two telegrams from Mr. Roosevelt's secretary also were received, one that he was coming on a special train for Mr. Roosevelt and the other that at six o'clock that morning the President's condition was slightly improved. These dispatches were hurried over to the tiny central office of the North Creek telephone systems, from which a slender wire, the only link with the outer world, stretched to the lower Tahawas Club house, or, as it is better known, 'Hunter's.'

"A little after ten o'clock, the unemployed guides were sifting around the roaring fire in their room in the 'Upper Club House,' swapping the usual yarns, when a team from Hunter's, covered with mud from the ten miles of wretched road, dashed up. A wondering silence fell over the company. David Hunter, the superintendent of the club, arose from his seat and went out. In a few moments he returned, and, looking around the room, said:

"'Boys, there is bad news from the President. Who will carry the message to Mr. Roosevelt?'

"Slow of speech, but quick of thought and action, are the Adirondack guides. It was hard to tell which of the party arose first.

"The task fell to Harrison Hall, tall, thin, weather beaten. Every one of his swift, noiseless movements, as he quietly made ready for the trip, revealed the trained woodsman. By half-past ten his swinging stride carried him over the tiny foot bridge across the Hudson river, here scarcely twenty feet wide, and into the forest on the trail of Lake Colton. Half way up he met the women of the party, in charge of Dimmock, returning to the club house. They told him that Mr. Roosevelt had been tempted to climb up Mount Marcy, and that the rest of the gentlemen had joined him. The swinging stride was hardly broken, and on up the trail Hall pushed toward his destination.

"From the club to Lake Colton the path was plain and clear. Beyond there, it had been rarely used, and the fallen deadwood clogged every step. Still, with the same sure, catlike stride, too wise to hurry, too eager to slacken speed, he pushed on through the black tangle of primeval forest. Many strange sights had those huge old gray pines beheld, many tragedies of hunter and hunted, but this spectacle of the silent messenger, with the fateful slips of paper in his hand, was new to them. New, also to the world, for never before had so strange a courier borne notice to a man of destiny that his time of ruling was at hand.

"In the meanwhile every breath of fresh air had improved Mr. Roosevelt's spirits. In spite of the rain, in spite of the difficulties of the trail, the outlook grew brighter and brighter to him as the day wore on. He even insisted on carrying one of the packs a part of the way, so as to do his share. Finally, about half-past one o'clock, the party reached the prettily named Tear of the Clouds. High up on the side of Mount Marcy—in fact, the highest body of water in the State, 4,500 feet above the sea level—this beautiful sheet forms the source of the Hudson river. The rain had turned the high grass around the margin into a marsh, and there was much good natured grumbling before the edge was reached. Once there, however, lunch was quickly spread, and all hands fell to it with a will. Mr. Roosevelt had made a joking remark about exercise being needed to keep Vice-Presidents alive, when a crackling twig caught the quick ear of La Casse, their guide.

"The whole party turned instinctively to follow his gaze, and there, swinging through the marsh, with the same unswerving stride, grim visaged and grizzled, an ideal messenger of fate, appeared Harrison Hall, the yellow slips still in his hand. This was about a quarter past two o'clock in the afternoon. Silently Mr. Roosevelt received them. In profound silence he read them. There were no questions asked. Somehow everyone seemed to understand.

They remembered suddenly that it was raining, that the mountain air was bitterly damp and raw. All the life and freshness seemed to go out of the day as they waited in respectful silence for the news they dreaded to hear.

"At last Mr. Roosevelt read the messages aloud, in a choked voice. Then, slowly rising, as if the weight of a nation's burdens was already on his shoulders, he said, simply: 'Gentlemen, I must return to the club house at once.'

"As for Harrison Hall, he calmly sat him down and started on his lunch. His was a 'message' with a vengeance; and, having fulfilled his trust, he took up his simple life just where he had left off. There is something in the constant companionship of silent forests and impassionate mountains that makes all of mankind's affairs, even the most important, seem too trivial to worry over.

"Mr. Roosevelt kept well ahead of his party. Evidently the sudden change in the President's condition seemed beyond belief. Finally, when almost home, he said:

"I have thought it all over, and unless I hear further news, I shall adhere to my original plans, and go down Saturday morning.'

"The reasons that lay behind this decision are not hard to see. The hopeful telegram from Secretary Loeb, whose judgment he would naturally prefer to that of the overwrought Cortelyou, the realization that if he rushed out of the woods at the first bad symptom and arrived at Buffalo only to find it a temporary relapse, there would be a storm of the harshest criticism on his seeming eagerness—this and the fact that neither of the gentlemen he had asked to keep him informed had telegraphed to him, seemed to counsel delay until the certainty was established of his presence being required.

"Just how long the time on which the tramp back to the club house was accomplished, none of the party could exactly tell. Mr. Roosevelt striding nervously along, soon distanced all but the guides. Harrison Hall, with the French Canadian, La Casse, and the Vice-President arrived at the club about half-past six o'clock. Secretary Loeb, true to his word, had caught the special train at Albany and arrived at North Creek about noon. He commenced at once telephoning inquiries, often repeated during the afternoon, asking when the Vice-President would reach the lower club house. By some mischance no one thought to send a message giving the later bulletins as to President McKinley's condition. Only frantic inquiries of Mr. Roosevelt had been found. To properly understand the long delay which followed, it must be remembered that the upper and lower club houses are a good two hours' drive apart, with no telephone communication. Thus it happened that when Mr. Roosevelt returned, at half-past six, to the upper club, he found no news later than the first telegrams, for the excellent reason that none had been forwarded. There was nothing to do but to send to the lower club for more news. As that meant a four hours' delay, Mr. Roosevelt decided to get a little sleep, so

as to prepare himself in case he should have to leave in response to a sudden summons.

"The messenger from the upper club found no messages for the Vice-President at Hunter's where the telephone line ended. Secretary Loeb was called up and asked for news. There were plenty of telegrams and bulletins for Mr. Roosevelt at North Creek, but Secretary Loeb had held them there until he learned of Mr. Roosevelt's whereabouts. Precious minutes were used writing out the budget that was sent over the telephone, and when the 'rig' started back to the upper club it was almost nine o'clock. A misty rain had set in, and it was so dark that it was eleven o'clock before the messages reached the Vice-President at his cottage. There was no longer any doubt as to the need of haste. Indeed, a bulletin, dated six o'clock in the evening, announcing that the President was dead, was among the dispatches and only a later bulletin from Secretary Cortelyou saying that the President was being kept alive by the use of oxygen revealed the falsity of the report. All who were present at the time those messages were received unite in praising Mr. Roosevelt's simple yet dignified bearing, and mention particularly his great grief and amazement at the news, which he persisted in hoping had been exaggerated.

"At a little before midnight David Hunter drove up in a light wagon before the cottage, the Vice-President tossed in his dress suit case, pulled his hat down over his eyes, said 'Go ahead,' and the thirty-five mile drive had begun. The road for the ten miles between the club houses was little more than the old trail used for hauling the pig iron in years past. Most of the way a bank from two to thirty feet high slopes down to the shores of a chain of little lakes on one side, while every few feet huge bowlders or massive stumps are so close to the wheel ruts on the other side that their surfaces bear many scars where, even in daylight, teams have failed to entirely clear them. The road is narrow enough, as it is, to be dangerous, but, in addition, there are deep mudholes at frequent intervals; to pass through which faster than a walk might mean a wrecked wagon, and to skirt which would bring the outer wheels within a few inches of the steep bank. From the start it was a mad game, with almost certain death, should the horses leave, even so slightly, the beaten track.

"It requires little imagination to picture what a long, horrible nightmare that drive must have seemed to Mr. Roosevelt, the light wagon swinging and bounding, the horses plunging at the countless steep, short hills, only to slide and slip down into what appeared to be bottomless pits, the dense fog making the dashboard light a mere yellow dot in the darkness.

"The splash, splash of hoofs through the mud; the sharp click of the shoes against the stones; the broad back of driver Hunter in the front seat

dimly outlined, as he sat firmly braced, peering out into the night; the sharp scrape of the hubs against a boulder; the sudden lurch of the wagon, that might be the beginning of a fatal roll down the bank—surely all things must have seemed to Mr. Roosevelt resolved back into the elemental chaos and black darkness. Yet, through it all, the thought that the President was dying and he was wanted was his one clear idea. Rocks, ruts and precipices all were unheeded, only to go on, on, on.

"Only an hour and a quarter were required for that first stage. Two hours in broad daylight with dry roads had previously been considered excellent time. When the 'rig' pulled up at Hunter's, Mr. Roosevelt leaped out, and, running up the steps, anxiously inquired for news. The latest bulletins were handed him, and, asking the way to the telephone, he soon was receiving and sending messages to Secretary Loeb. Only the same sad tale that the President was slowly and surely sinking greeted him. A hasty lunch was bolted down, and fresh horses, with Orrin Kellogg for driver, carried him forward. It was two o'clock when the start for Aiden Lair was made, and in fifteen minutes the office of Vice-President would be vacant. Still, the obstinate hope of a strong willed man, who refuses to take no from fate, possessed Mr. Roosevelt. 'They say the President is dying,' he told Kellogg, 'but I have hope yet.' The nine miles from Hunter's to Aiden Lair were the best along the route, save for about three miles at the finish. Yet the hills were longer, with great marshed places, bare to the granite ledges that form the backbone of the hills. Sure of foot and full of courage was Kellogg's wiry team. It was more open now, and the trees, stretching out gaunt arms, loomed like spectres through the mist.

"A country dance was just breaking up at a little school house on the way. The plunging team dashed past the returning revellers, black and silent, in sharp contrast, on its sad errand. Still the monotonous splash of hoofs, still the wild swaying of the wagon, still the danger lurking just ahead; small wonder there was little conversation. Shortly after three o'clock Aiden Lair was reached. Mike Cronin sat on his buckboard waiting, with a team of gaunt black horses, most deceptive in appearance, ready to spring into a run at the word 'go.'

"Mr. McKinley had been dead nearly an hour, yet Mr. Roosevelt did not know it even then, as no news was given him here. There were sixteen miles of dangerous road yet to cover. How Mr. Roosevelt sat, watch in hand, and urged Cronin on, how the sturdy blacks tore through the darkness at a run, already has been told. Of the hundred narrow escapes from death, of the moments when the new President's life hung trembling in the course of a slender wagon wheel along the edge of a ravine, has not, can not, be told.

"At twenty-one minutes after 5 o'clock Mr. Roosevelt leaped out on the station steps at North Creek. Half way up he received from a representative of the Herald the first notification that President McKinley was dead.

"So began, so ended, that unique ride."

CHAPTER XIX.

RELATIONS OF McKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT.

The Twenty-Fifth President and His Predecessor's Policy—The Vice-President Succeeds to the Presidency—Roosevelt's Tributes to McKinley—The Message to Congress an Example of Fitness.

THERE was the statesmanship of manliness and kindness, of high courage and good will, in the first utterance of Theodore Roosevelt, after he had taken the oath of office, according to the Constitution as the President of the United States. What he said was in few words, spoken with emotion—quiet and strong, simple and sufficient—that he would maintain “absolutely unbroken” the policy of President McKinley; and this was followed by commanding the continuation of the Cabinet for the time being, the qualification applying rather to members who had thought of retirement before the hand of embodied ignorance, malice and anarchy wrought the great and utterly unexpected change. It was, under the circumstances, precisely as positive a duty on the part of the Cabinet officers to remain as it was the clear policy of the President to convey the invitation to stay, in such terms and manner that refusal was not possible. It had been the form substantially followed for the Cabinet officers to offer resignations; but as President Roosevelt put it, there was immediate recognition that what he had done was with exactness the right thing; and the first words of the President soothed the agitated with reassurance, with remembrance of the words of Garfield, spoken on the granite steps in New York, where the august figure of Washington stands on the spot where the first President took the oath of office; and the words of Garfield, the young giant of the West, of splendid stature, imposing presence, a far-reaching, ringing voice, were, when Abraham Lincoln, the first martyred, murdered President, that morning died in the National Capital, and the incredible misfortune was faced by the people: “God reigns, and the Government at Washington still lives.” The want of the country was a firm attitude of certainty, when Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley died.

Theodore Roosevelt is a man accustomed to responsibility, and though the youngest of twenty-five Presidents, not lacking in arduous experiences, educated in many schools, with exceptionally broad knowledge of our whole

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AT PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S FUNERAL, CANTON, OHIO

country and all the problems of its public life. He stood before this Nation and all the Nations of the earth, when McKinley died, calm in rectitude, steadfast in bravery, armed with integrity, equipped with convictions and solemnized by the tragic news and the voices of mourning millions in bereavement, and with the brevity of defined purpose in that which he said and did, made known that his steps were guided aright.

He appeared in Buffalo, as duty called him, as soon as possible after the President had been stricken by the assassin, and waited, effacing himself as far as he might, until the surgeons in charge of the illustrious patient, after promptly and boldly doing all that science taught them to relieve the sufferer and grasp the chances possible for life, reported confidently the President was on the road to recovery. Then the Vice-President, hopeful and persuaded that all would be well, sought the heart of the Adirondacks to join his family there for the health of the children, and enjoy with his eldest son a few hours' shooting in the midst of the mountains, as his happy, familiar hunting grounds were too far away, on the Little Missouri, to be available; and he was in the loneliness of a mountain retreat when President McKinley complained of increasing fatigue, the dreaded signs of heart-weakness appeared, and the buoyant belief that he would be delivered from sudden death, gave way to the gravest apprehensions; and speedily came the heavy tidings that the battle for the President's life was lost, and the pathetic incidents of his dying hours touched all Christendom, and, indeed, the whole world, with their tenderness, and lofty but subdued and forgiving spirit. His immortal phrases of perfect faith, hope and forgiveness, made the deathbed a source of light and strength, a vision of the beautiful, so that the angels of mercy seemed present as the bearers of good tidings, that through the thick darkness there was the "kindly light" leading to reveal that the way was not ours, but God's; and the words last on the lips so often eloquent, was taken up and softly sung, with sobbing voices, the world around, "Nearer, My God, to Thee."

When it was evident the President was in extreme danger, though hope was not abandoned, the Vice-President was anxiously called for, and some hours passed before he was located, and other hours occupied in reaching him with the tidings that the President had a relapse. The Vice-President's vacation was over. The message he received was urgent, apprehensive; and on a buck-board, with a pair of spirited horses and driver who knew the road, he set out to reach, forty miles away, through the night, at the highest speed, the nearest point touched by railroad and wire. There a special train was waiting.

Vice-President Roosevelt, on arrival at Buffalo, in the afternoon of September 14th, drove at once to the Milburn house, where President McKinley died, and was lying dead, and met a little later the Cabinet at the Wilcox

house, where after some time in the indulgence of personal grief, the oath of the Greater Office was taken by Mr. Roosevelt, and he was the XXVth President of the United States. When the moment came to be sworn and assume the imposing responsibility, he stood erect, held up his right hand, and made the response with a firm voice. It was Secretary of War Root who called Mr. Roosevelt "Vice-President" for the last time, and made the suggestion that there should be no delay in answering the requirement of the law. Mr. Root was present when Chester A. Arthur took the oath of office, at his own residence on Lexington avenue, New York, a few days later in the month of September, twenty years ago. The two Presidents assassinated were from Northeastern Ohio, and the Vice-Presidents succeeding were of the City of New York.

An eye witness wrote of taking the oath by President Roosevelt: "The scene was a most affecting one. The new President had just come from the Milburn house, where his predecessor lay cold in death. Overcome by the deep personal sorrow he felt, in his characteristically impulsive way he had gone first to the house of mourning to offer his condolence and sympathy to the broken-hearted widow. Secretary Root, who, twenty years ago, had been present at a similar scene, when Arthur took the oath after the death of another President who fell a victim to an assassin's bullet, almost broke down when he requested Mr. Roosevelt, on behalf of the members of the Cabinet of the late President, to take the prescribed oath. There was not a dry eye in the room. The new President was visibly shaken, but he controlled, himself, and when he lifted his hand to swear, it was steady as though carved in marble. The taking of the oath was an impressive though practically private ceremony. Secretary Root had a personal talk with Mr. Roosevelt, then, stepping back, said in an almost inaudible voice: 'Mr. Vice-President, I——' Then his voice broke, and for fully two minutes the tears came down his face and his lips quivered so that he could not continue his utterances. There were sympathetic tears from those about him, and two great drops ran down either cheek of the successor of William McKinley. Mr. Root's chin was on his breast. Suddenly throwing back his head, as if with an effort, he continued in a broken voice."

The communication made by Mr. Root was that the Cabinet desired, for reasons of State, that there should be no delay. When Vice-President Roosevelt took the oath, and was truly President, he said: "In this hour of deep and terrible National bereavement, I wish to state it shall be my intention and endeavor to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley, for the peace and prosperity and honor of our beloved country." These words were received throughout the Nation, and the world of civilization, with a profound sense that they were dignified, patriotic, loyal to all the sensibilities that

were becoming, and gave security to the interests of the people at large, having just lost their leader, who had left them in the enjoyment of an unexampled prosperity.

September 18th it was given out officially by Postmaster General Smith, in Washington, that the members of the McKinley Cabinet agreed to remain as the Cabinet of President Roosevelt. They all met him on the 17th, and the President insisted that the situation should be treated as if he were entering on a new term, and the offices had been tendered the members of the Cabinet without condition. He would accept no declinations and each Cabinet officer expressed his intention of remaining.

The President reiterated his statement that he would follow the policy of President McKinley, and that was expressed in his Buffalo speech. The members of the Cabinet assembled at the request of the President in the drawingroom of Commander Cowles' home. When they arrived, the President told them that he believed he ought to make it clear, once for all, that he meant what he said at Buffalo when he declared that he intended to follow the policy of the late President. There was, he said, no better way than by keeping as his advisers the men who had aided the President in bringing such magnificent results to the country. "I want each of you gentlemen," he said, "to remain as a member of my Cabinet. I need your advice and counsel. I tender you the office in the same manner that I would tender it if I were entering upon the discharge of my duties as the result of an election by the people. With this distinction, however," the President continued, laying emphasis on his words, "that I can not accept a declination." Having made this declaration, the President asked each member personally to remain and each Cabinet official in response to the request agreed that there should be no interruption, and they would remain as loyal to aid the new President in the discharge of his duties as they had endeavored to aid the late President.

THE FIRST PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

"By the President of the United States of America. A proclamation:

"A terrible bereavement has befallen our people. The President of the United States has been struck down; a crime committed not only against the Chief Magistrate, but against every law-abiding and liberty-loving citizen.

"President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellow-men, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death, will remain forever a precious heritage of our people.

"It is meet that we, as a Nation, express our abiding love and reverence for his life, our deep sorrow for his untimely death.

"Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do appoint Thursday next, September nineteenth, the day in which the body of the dead President will be laid in its last earthly resting-place, a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States.

"I earnestly recommend all the people to assemble on that day in their respective places of divine worship, there to bow down in submission to the will of Almighty God, and to pay out of full hearts their homage of love and reverence to the great and good President whose death has smitten the Nation with bitter grief.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington the fourteenth day of September, A.D. one thousand nine hundred and one, and of the independence of the United States the one-hundred-and-twenty-sixth.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

"By the President, John Hay, Secretary of State."

President Roosevelt through all public positions he has held in his college life, his adventurous ranch life, has so labored with his pen as to within a little more than twenty years fill a library shelf with valuable books abounding in new things, bright and strong things, besides a great deal of magazine work and essays, addresses, speeches on a strange variety of subjects, fearlessly attacking a wide range of the public problems, so that there is not a theme concerning the American people that he has not studied and given the results of his investigations in well drawn forms and under a strong light, manifesting a very rare intellectuality and individuality, as well as an irrepressible industry, making plain the presence of character at once impulsive and considerate, impetuous but conservative, passionate yet methodical, picturesque, and, after all, philosophical—a politician that is for the organization of his party, and at the same time a reformer who stands all hazards of radical contention.

He is as American as any one can be of European descent, with an old name written in Holland history, but blood in greater part from the British Islands; a Republican, but half Southern in origin—proud of the valor in the lost cause of Southern relatives—a revolutionist in Southern appointments, proposing to give the Republican party a fair chance among the Southern whites; who invites a black man to his table, and is careless whether he has offended, and without knowledge or sentiment that tells him he is mistaken in such a course if he is going on a politician.

He is a new type of man for President, because few have reached the great office without a studious course of petting the people, by finding their favorite weaknesses. This man has faith in the integrity that is robust. There



PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S OBSEQUIES--PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN THE MIDDLE DISTANCE

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is one thing we can not conceive will be thought practicable by President Roosevelt—the change of his accustomed independence permitting himself to abate his zeal in a cause because there is war on that line of march. The name of the Cuban battlefield where he so handsomely distinguished himself, is the Place of Thorns, and he never has feared to walk in thorny paths if he heard the call of duty. He did not wait for the drums and bugles. That he will prove one of our most interesting Presidents, there is no doubt, but that he will carefully trim and shape his course to be elected President in 1904, is not to be expected or thought of in this case, for he has attained the popularity that is demonstrative toward him, by his veracities, and he will fight it out on that line through all the seasons. He has been the boldest of men in truth-telling, and perhaps it is the very courage in what commonplace judgment would pronounce imprudence, that has given him progressive success. He is a very human man, and that he could be insensible to the honor of a second term of the Presidency, is most unlikely. At the same time, it is impossible he can be a candidate on any platform or in any character other than his own. He prefers war to a peace that is not “with honor” and has resources, in his books and his ranches, and his friends and his hunting—the free air of the mountains and companionship with the rivers that roll Eastward from the far off Western mountains, that would busy him without regard for a term more or less of the Presidency. The people will presumably like him all the more because he will not be a candidate on any other terms than the “just as I am” platform. They will know where he is and what he is all the time, candidate or not, and if they care to vote for him again, they will know, as heretofore, what for.

There was harmony between McKinley and Roosevelt in their high offices, for the reason, among many others, that they were unlike in their ways, and yet had policies that ran in parallel lines. They were for the protective tariff and reciprocity. Though James G. Blaine was a high protectionist, he added as an elucidation the grateful word reciprocity, and McKinley was early an advocate, as Roosevelt was an opponent, of Blaine for the Presidency; and in the very week of McKinley's assassination, they found themselves agreed to accept Blaine's doctrine. It is one of the fairest chapters of the fame of McKinley that he was the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee that reported the protection and prosperity measure; and McKinley repeatedly, in public addresses, dwelt upon the words, “protection and reciprocity,” giving the latter word a gracious emphasis, as if the two were one and inseparable, and united to bring about a perpetual career of prosperity. The inner light of the Farewell Address at Buffalo did not then shine in his speeches for the first time. McKinley was not an idealist and dreamer of protection, but held that it was a measure by and for the people, and that it had not reached a state of perfection. Roosevelt is of like persuasion, but had made less of a specialty

of protection, though that is because he has grasped with masterly hand so many subjects, that he has not so far concentrated his identity on one line.

President Roosevelt is not likely to come in sharp contact with the Republican organization, for he is competent to measure the excellence that he approves. He is in better form to go on, without shifting policies than any recent Vice-President, with the exceptions of Mr. Hobart and Governor Morton. There would have been a revolution if Vice-President Hendricks or Vice-President Stevenson had been called to succeed Mr. Cleveland.

The Republican National Convention of 1900 was a body largely composed of actual representative men. The leader and "leaders of leaders" were there. The one open question was the Vice-Presidential nomination; and the word passed through the delegations that the second place on the ticket must be filled as carefully as the first. Not a little was said about a man perfectly agreeable to the Administration, and while there were preferences, there were not antagonisms, but outside Roosevelt's friends, there was no personal sentiment that was formidable. The Convention was deliberate, and its decision not lacking in unanimity. The nomination of McKinley was a matter of course, but if he had not been a candidate, Roosevelt would unquestionably have been the nominee for the first place. There was a time when McKinley thought very seriously about declaring he would not be a candidate for a second term, as when he had a second, he peremptorily closed the conversations looking to pressing him for a third term, and did it in the same spirit that he demanded that he should not be voted for on the floor of the Convention, when he had appeared the leader of John Sherman. There was a time in the third year of the Administration of McKinley, when he was weary, and said he thought he would have had, when his term expired, enough of the great office; and if personal considerations had prevailed, he would have been inclined to step aside, asking, even demanding, that he should not be urged to take the field again. His labor had been most exacting, but the state of the country did not admit of his retirement. The conditions commanded his acquiescence in the call from the people. It was no uncertain sound that ordered him to go on. Those who wanted the White House painted black because he was not rabid for war lacked listeners long before he died.

At the McKinley memorial services, Alabama, September 19th, Mr. Rufus N. Rhodes delivered, in the First Methodist Church, an address that opened with these admirable sentences—most expressive of a feeling in all bosoms that are the homes of true manhood and womanhood, the sympathy all people of honor should feel for Roosevelt under circumstances so pathetic and forlorn as his when the chosen leader fell. "Sometimes," said Dr. Rhodes, "God moves in a most mysterious way His lessons to impress upon mankind. The cruel, cowardly assassination of a President of the United States in the

first year of the new century calls an instant halt;" and in touching terms he expressed the thought of many millions, that "Roosevelt should have sympathy." "Let none of us forget," he said, "that President Roosevelt needs and should receive the sympathetic co-operation of every good citizen. Ungenerous criticism cannot but embarrass his administration of public affairs, which are our concern as much as his. Theodore Roosevelt is capable and courageous, honorable and patriotic; he is thoroughly zealous, and he is pledged to a continuance of the policy of President McKinley for the preservation of the peace, prosperity, and honor of our beloved country. 'God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives.' Another lesson taught by the suffering and death of Mr. McKinley was prayer and the power of prayer. Men who rarely pray, prayed momentarily for him to get well. Since he was shot, the very atmosphere of the world has been saturated and sanctified by the spirit of prayer, and though he died, countless numbers throughout the world have come to know the comfort and the help-giving power of prayer. And, oh, the strength it gave William McKinley as he entered the dark valley of the shadow of death. After giving what consolation he could to his poor, dear wife, turning to the faithful Cortelyou, and the circle of nearest and dearest friends about him, in his last conscious moments he whispered: 'Goodby, all; goodby. Not ours, but God's will be done. 'Tis his way!' Then sweetly dropping into obliviousness, his dying lips gently hummed the tune of 'Nearer, My God, to Thee.' And this was the passing of William McKinley."

As the procession moved in Buffalo, bearing the remains of the President on the long journey to Canton and the longer one, the procession moved between masses of bare headed people. At the depot the soldiers carried the coffin on their shoulders toward the train, and from "Nearer, My God, to Thee," the band went into the grand old hymn, "O God, Our Help in Ages Past." On the curb stood President Roosevelt with Senator Hawley. He had refused the advice of the police to move into the train yard, and with his hat in his hand stood silently watching, and entered the station with Secretary Cortelyou.

He had a call at Buffalo from a committee of the Grand Army, who wished to further offer the services of a committee of five to act as part of the escort to the body on the funeral train to Washington. The committee called on President Roosevelt at the Wilcox mansion on Sunday evening to make this tender and request an acceptance, so that the representatives of the Grand Army might be assigned to this duty. The President's greeting to the Grand Army committee was most gracious. He said: "I am pleased, very much pleased, to receive you; and while for obvious reasons, I cannot make an assignment such as you propose, I will write a note to Secretary Cortelyou,

with the hope that he will be able to do so. I know it is what the dead President would have desired, and it is what I desire."

The note written by the President was handed to Secretary Cortelyou, who said: "In making arrangements for the funeral, I thought of the Grand Army officers. In the multitude of my duties I necessarily had to refer many matters, and that of the Grand Army escort was sent to Col. Bingham. Please see him and tell him I sent you to him." Colonel Bingham at once made the necessary arrangements for the Grand Army to follow the hearse to the depot, and an assignment of a committee of five to accompany the body of President McKinley on the funeral train.

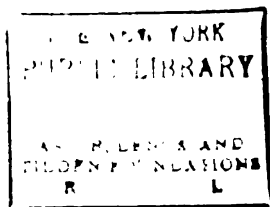
The new President was a master of the proprieties. He appointed to office all who had been promised places by President McKinley. There was delicacy called for as to personal effects in the White House, and Mrs. McKinley could not give the help of her personal attention. Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt were not in haste to occupy the premises, but consulted the convenience of the McKinley family. President Roosevelt proceeded at once on returning from Canton, to take up, in a business way, the work waiting for him, first interesting himself in the affairs of the Navy—the Department in which he had experience—and his first consultation was with Governor Long, the Secretary whose assistant he once was. The Cabinet officers were warmly received, and when luncheon time came, he walked to the house of Secretary Hay, where he was expected, and paid no attention whatever to the police on the assumption that he needed their attention. He discountenanced the detectives, politely discouraged long discussions of business; and his personal characteristics will, as they should, appear in the course of his Administration, that, in the natural course of events, includes organization and service of two Congresses from start to finish.

One strong point of McKinley was that he was sixteen years in the House of Representatives, and that Roosevelt has not. He has, however, been a member of the New York Assembly, and has the parliamentary accomplishments. He can hardly make his relations with Congressmen as close and in matters of business as free from partizan color as McKinley's were. The first telling stroke McKinley made when he was President, was to call Congress in extra session. It was a bold movement, and many feared, a mistake, but McKinley did not have a misgiving.

He, as a Congressman of extraordinary experience, was glad to meet Congress; and the splendid success of tariff legislation was greatly aided by comradeship between the Chief Executive and the Chief Representative body. There will be lacking in the equipment of the Government in affairs, for the period that the Vice-President chosen by the people is President, the genial and



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, SECRETARY BLISS, AND GENERAL WOOD
AT THE WEST POINT-ANAPOLIS FOOT BALL GAME



helpful association that President McKinley had with Vice-President Hobart, who was a good friend and competent adviser.

Upon the broad lines of principle declared in the Philadelphia platform of 1900, and all that deep sympathy and most kindly courtesy can suggest or grant—all matters personally pleasing to the near friends of President McKinley, his authenticated promises of appointments, and preferences between friends—there will be no change in the Administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt. The President answering to all titles, under the Constitution, without doubt, reserve or obscurity, may and must to himself be true, and dealing with the higher forms of duty, take on the character of the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. A President, with Congress and the country around and sustaining him, should not, and can not direct his proceedings in imitation of another. The Commander in Chief in battle must be an eye-witness of the field, whether the combat is on land or water, and act according to his senses and his judgment, taking into view the whole situation and accepting all responsibility. He must be the man on horseback or the bridge that he may see all. There is no abatement of the responsibility of the Vice-President, who is called to the Presidency; and this, fortunately, was deeply in the thought of the Convention that nominated William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. They were nominated, not by windy acclamation, but with deliberation, unanimously, and had the same popular and electoral majorities.

There is a key to the mind of President McKinley in a story that is called "The Genesis of McKinley's last speech." Three weeks before the Buffalo Exposition journey, the President was in the evening smoking a cigar at Canton. At the table opposite him was, as usual, Mr. Cortelyou. The President, without uttering a preliminary word, took his cigar from his lips and exclaimed:

"Amity is better than animosity," and went on smoking. A minute later he said:

"Expositions are the timekeepers of progress."

Another interval of silence, a few more whiffs of the cigar, and the President added:

"Measures of reciprocity are better than measures of retaliation."

Not another word was spoken either by the Chief or his Secretary. Next day Mr. Cortelyou placed before the President a type-written sheet bearing the above sentences, with a wide space between them.

"Hello!" said the President, "we have begun the Buffalo speech! I didn't know you had taken down those words, Cortelyou."

Mr. McKinley took the phrases, and from them evolved the address delivered the day before he was shot.

In the same week, September 2nd, Vice-President Roosevelt made a speech at Minneapolis, in which he defined his position in many matters of current inter-

est, especially touching on reciprocity, saying: "One of our prime needs is stability and continuity of economic policy; and, yet through treaty or by direct legislation, it may at least in certain cases become advantageous to supplement our present policy by a system of reciprocal benefit and obligation. We must remember in dealing with other Nations that benefits must be given when benefits are sought."

The language of the Vice-President, speaking September 5th, is not in terms that of the President four days later, but the ideas of the two are as identical as if they were the result of a consultation. The coincidence is more important because there was not reciprocity of confidence. It would have been a requirement if verbal agreement were arranged. It was a case of spontaneity.

The strong likeness in broad principle of the studied utterances of the President and Vice-President, in the first week of September, can not be mistaken. There is reason for public satisfaction that this concord was so clear before the country when the shock came; for the element of the calm conviction of the public that all is well is one of the utmost importance in fixing the general sense of security. President Roosevelt will go on with the Philippine policy of his predecessor and carry it further than it has been defined. He has spoken of that effort more than a thousand times, and never uttered a word that was not firm as a rock.

In the Minneapolis speech, he paid Governor Taft this high compliment: "Under the wise administration of Governor Taft, the islands now enjoy a peace and liberty of which they have hitherto never even dreamed. But this peace and liberty under the law must be supplemented by material, by industrial development. Every encouragement should be given to their commercial development, to the production of American industries and products; not merely because this will be a good thing for our people, but infinitely more, because it will be of incalculable benefit to the people of the Philippines. We are not trying to subjugate a people; we are trying to develop them, and make them a law-abiding, industrious and educated people, and we hope, ultimately, a self-governing people." There is no concession to the anarchist, the traitor or the belittler of our country in this.

This is the essential matter of the McKinley Philippine policy. The Vice-President dealt with "anarchy" before the latest murder of a President, with the thoroughness that he gives questions raised by criminal conspiracies.

In his great Chicago speech, quoted on page 159, he expressed his views with characteristic clearness and boldness. No one had any doubt as to where Theodore Roosevelt stood on this and kindred subjects. He is too much of a patriot, loves his country and her institutions too profoundly and sincerely to listen with even a seeming degree of patience to the sophistries of those whose object is to overturn the established order and substitute anarchy. On the

other hand, it cannot be too often stated that there is no man in public life who has more sympathy for the poor and oppressed than he, nor one more determined to do all in his power to curb the "powers that prey" and to give to every man whose good fortune it is to live under the guardianship and protection of the Stars and Stripes his "fighting chance."

One into whose hands is entrusted the moulding of our policy and the direction of the Government, and to whom we look for so much in the future cannot affirm too often or too clearly that he stands firm and true on the slippery places.

There could be no stronger testimony of the good will Theodore Roosevelt had for President McKinley than his first words in seconding the second nomination of the President at Philadelphia. He said:

"Mr. Chairman:—I rise to second the nomination of William McKinley, the President who has had to meet and solve problems more numerous and more important than any other President since the days of mighty Abraham Lincoln; the President under whose administration this country has attained a higher pitch of prosperity at home and honor abroad than ever before in its history. Four years ago the Republican party nominated William McKinley as its standard bearer in a political conflict of graver moment to the Nation than any that had taken place since the close of the Civil War saw us once more a united country. The Republican party nominated him; but before the campaign was many days old he had become the candidate not only of all Republicans, but of all Americans who were both far-sighted enough to see where the true interests of the country lay, and clear-minded enough to be keenly sensitive to the taint of dishonor. President McKinley was triumphantly elected on certain distinct pledges, and those pledges have been made more than good. We are here to nominate him again, and in November next we shall elect him again; because it has been given to him to personify the cause of honor abroad and prosperity at home, or wise legislation and straightforward administration."

The words that comforted the country, spoken by President Roosevelt, as soon as he could speak with authority, were the logic of the language just quoted, and are to be interpreted by that noble speech.

Not in the hundred years between the death of George Washington and that of William McKinley, has a great man taken from life been mourned with the universal sincerity of the countless millions who grieved that McKinley died, and sought to pay appropriate tributes to the usefulness and the many virtues of his life and character.

Abraham Lincoln was murdered while the embers of a great war still glowed, and before the kindliness of his nature had become known to his enemies, and the greatness of his heart revealed had converted all foes to friends,

who loved him. Andrew Jackson's stormy career was so full of antagonism that little was understood of the chivalric and romantic side of the affectionate old man, who left his countrymen still divided whether to praise or blame. Garfield fell so early after he became President that the whole people had not found out the admirable resources of his masterful strength of intellectual force and genial good will.

Only once have the people of the United States been moved deeply, and awed by the coincidence of the death of the two illustrious ex-Presidents, who were signers of the Declaration of Independence, and saw the last day of their lives the semi-centennial anniversary of that event. John Adams, of Massachusetts, and Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, passed away on the same fourth of July, and died good friends, and the whole people joined in the recognition of the masterpieces they had wrought in the history of their country.

It is eminently fit that the successor of William McKinley in the Presidency should, in his first message to Congress, have crowned the colossal structure of the Literature of Praise—that included with thanksgiving for his life, lamentation for his death—with an oration opening the official announcement to Congress, of the startling change that had occurred in the Chief Magistracy. Congress listened to the reading of the message with a sense of the mournful and superb fitness of the words to the occasion, and with tearful eyes appreciated the lofty tone and the pathos of the tribute; and then applauded with an intensity unknown to the congressional reception of a communication from the President.

What the President said of the murder of McKinley and the plague of Anarchism, was first in the message, and is given place here complete:

"White House, December 3, 1901.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

"The Congress assembles this year under the shadow of a great calamity. On the 6th of September President McKinley was shot by an Anarchist while attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, and died in that city on the 14th of that month.

"Of the last seven elected Presidents, he is the third who has been murdered, and the bare recital of this fact is sufficient to justify grave alarm among all loyal American citizens. Moreover, the circumstances of this, the third assassination of an American President, have a peculiarly sinister significance. Both President Lincoln and President Garfield were killed by assassins of types unfortunately not uncommon in history, President Lincoln falling a victim to the terrible passions aroused by four years of civil war, and President Garfield to the revengeful vanity of a disappointed office-seeker. President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular

liberty, if it is guaranteed by even the most just and liberal laws, and who are as hostile to the upright exponent of a free people's sober will as to the tyrannical and irresponsible despot.

"It is not too much to say that at the time of President McKinley's death he was the most widely loved man in all the United States, while we have never had any public man of his position who has been so wholly free from the bitter animosities incident to public life. His political opponents were the first to bear the heartiest and most generous tribute to the broad kindliness of nature, the sweetness and gentleness of character, which so endeared him to his close associates.

"To a standard of lofty integrity in public life, he united the tender affections and home virtues which are all important in the makeup of national character. A gallant soldier in the great war for the Union, he also shone as an example to all our people because of his conduct in the most sacred and intimate of home relations. There could be no personal hatred of him, for he never acted with aught but consideration for the welfare of others. No one could fail to respect him who knew him in public or private life. The defenders of those murderous criminals who seek to excuse their criminality by asserting that it is exercised for political ends inveigh against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology cannot be urged.

"President McKinley was a man of moderate means, a man whose stock sprang from the sturdy tillers of the soil, who had himself belonged among the wage-workers, who had entered the army as a private soldier. Wealth was not struck at when the President was assassinated, but the honest toil which is content with moderate gains after a lifetime of unremitting labor, largely in the service of the public. Still less was power struck at in the sense that power is irresponsible or centred in the hands of any one individual. The blow was not aimed at tyranny or wealth. It was aimed at one of the strongest champions the wage-worker has ever had; at one of the most faithful representatives of the system of public rights and representative government who has ever risen to public office.

"President McKinley filled that political office for which the entire people vote, and no President—not even Lincoln himself—was ever more earnestly anxious to represent the well-thought-out wishes of the people; his one anxiety in every crisis was to keep in closest touch with the people, to find out what they thought, and to endeavor to give expression to their thought, after having endeavored to guide that thought aright. He had just been re-elected to the Presidency, because the majority of our citizens, the majority of our farmers and wage-workers, believed that he had faithfully upheld their interests for four years. They felt themselves in close and intimate touch with him. They felt

that he represented so well and so honorably all their ideals and aspirations that they wished him to continue for another four years to represent them.

"And this was the man at whom the assassin struck! That there might be nothing lacking to complete the Judaslike infamy of his act, he took advantage of an occasion when the President was meeting the people generally, and, advancing as if to take the hand outstretched to him in kindly and brotherly fellowship, he turned the noble and generous confidence of the victim into an opportunity to strike the fatal blow. There is no baser deed in all the annals of crime.

"The shock, the grief of the country, are bitter in the minds of all who saw the dark days while the President yet hovered between life and death. At last the light was stilled in the kindly eyes, and the breath went from the lips that even in mortal agony uttered no words save of forgiveness to his murderer, of love for his friends, and of unfaltering trust in the will of the Most High. Such a death, crowning the glory of such a life, leaves us with infinite sorrow, but with such pride in what he had accomplished and in his own personal character, that we feel the blow not as struck at him, but as struck at the Nation. We mourn a good and great President who is dead; but while we mourn we are lifted up by the splendid achievements of his life and the grand heroism with which he met his death.

"When we turn from the man to the Nation, the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehensions, and to demand our wisest and most resolute action. This criminal was a professed Anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed Anarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent.

"The blow was aimed not at this President, but at all Presidents; at every symbol of Government. President McKinley was as emphatically the embodiment of the popular will of the Nation expressed through the forms of law as a New England town meeting is in similar fashion the embodiment of the law-abiding purpose and practice of the people of the town. On no conceivable theory could the murder of the President be accepted as due to protest against 'inequalities in the social order,' save as the murder of all the freemen engaged in a town meeting could be accepted as a protest against that social inequality which puts a malefactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of 'social discontent' than picking pockets or wife beating.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON HIS
FAVORITE HORSE

NEW YORK
LIBRARY

1912

"The Anarchist, and especially the Anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates Anarchy, directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for Anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The Anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workingmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The Anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever Anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

"For the Anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practices his doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his criminality is to be found in his own evil passions, and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the State to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor, and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a 'product of social conditions,' save as a highwayman is 'produced' by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching Anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings and meetings are essentially seditious and treasonable.

"I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of Anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all Government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should insure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress.

"The Federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the President, or any man who, by the Constitution or by law, is in line of succession for the Presidency, while the punishment for an unsuc-

cessful attempt should be proportioned to the enormity of the offence against our institutions.

"Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should band against the Anarchist. His crime should be made an offence against the law of Nations, like piracy, and that form of manstealing known as the slave trade; for it is of far blacker infamy than either. It should be so declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the Federal Government the power of dealing with the crime.

"A grim commentary upon the folly of the Anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law toward this very criminal who had just taken the life of the President. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked in his behalf. So far from his deed being committed on behalf of the people against the Government, the Government was obliged at once to exert its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people. Moreover, his deed worked not the slightest dislocation in our Governmental system, and the danger of a recurrence of such deeds, no matter how great it might grow, would work only in the direction of strengthening and giving harshness to the forces of order. No man will ever be restrained from becoming President by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the President's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder. This great country will not fall into Anarchy, and if Anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled, it burns like a consuming flame."

CHAPTER XX.

THE PRESIDENT AS A PEACEMAKER.

Auspicious Conditions at His Succession—Distinction from Vice-Presidents Gone Before—Conservatism, Not Revolution—British Study of the Senate, with an Erroneous Theory—The Senate Has Ratified an Isthmian Treaty with England—Roosevelt Strong for Peace because His Word Stands—His Admirable Deportment in Time of Trouble.

THERE is no case in our history that parallels the succession of Theodore Roosevelt to the Presidency upon the death of William McKinley. It is a horror upon the land that we have had three Presidents murdered, as President Roosevelt reminds us in his message, "out of the seven last elected." The distinction he makes officially between the Presidents elected, and those succeeding to the office, as prescribed by the Constitution, when the formally elected President dies, should be remarked, for it shows the scrupulous care President Roosevelt has to be accurate, and the assertion of the absolute integrity of truth.

The first President who died in office, General William Henry Harrison, was succeeded by John Tyler, not of the same political persuasion with Harrison. The change was a revolution, almost as great as if, under the original form of the fundamental law, William J. Bryan had succeeded William McKinley. The old, original rule was that the candidate having the highest number of electoral votes cast for him for the Presidency should be President, and the next highest Vice-President. Owing to the Jefferson and Burr contest in 1800, the Vice-President's name was placed on the electoral ballot. Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks died when a President Pro Tempore of the Senate had not been elected. President Cleveland had no successor provided to take his place, and for that reason declined, on legal advice, to go to the funeral at Indianapolis of the Vice-President. Hence, another wise law, turning the Presidential succession into the Cabinet, in case the Vice President is called to fill a Presidential vacancy. As the case stood when Theodore Roosevelt took the oath as President, his successor was, under the law, John Hay, Secretary of State, and next the Secretary of the Treasury, then the War, then the Navy; and there is one member of the continued McKinley Cabinet not eligible to the Presidency, that office alone being reserved for native born Americans.

General William Henry Harrison died a month after inauguration from exposure on that occasion, and fatigue imposed by the rush of office-seekers. Tyler was placed on the ticket to heal a political grievance in Virginia, and in his views of public policy he was sympathetic rather with the Democracy than the Whigs.

General Zachary Taylor was the card played by Thurlow Weed to beat the Democrats with a Mexican war hero. Taylor ranked as a "Whig, but not an ultra Whig." There was no little labor expended in adjusting language to give the Whigs confidence they were not to be Tylerized. Millard Fillmore was Weed's idea of the best that could be done when Daniel Webster declined the Vice-Presidency with Taylor for head of the ticket, just as he had declined the honor of running as the second man of the Harrison ticket. This explains the tradition that Webster twice refused the Presidency. He refused nominations that would have carried him into the great office.

Under Fillmore's Administration, the Whig party took decisive steps toward ultimate extinction.

The three murdered Presidents were Republicans, two of them from Ohio. No Democratic President ever died in office. The succession of Andrew Johnson to Abraham Lincoln was not a success, and there are still traceable evil consequences flowing from the anxiety of Republicans to put on the appearance of nationality, in response to the reproach that they were sectional, as the force that was conservative of slavery in a great section of the common country. Mr. Johnson was not a gentleman of delicate balance of the faculty termed the judicial. It never was fair to call him a traitor. He was capable of swinging dangerously far between extremes. His oscillations might have damaged our form of government. Still, he abolished slavery in Kentucky, with the urgency and help of General Palmer, and expanded the country by taking the advice of William H. Seward and Charles Sumner, in annexing Alaska.

Garfield was murdered by a squabbler for spoils, a wretch whose vanity was a disease. Chester Arthur was nominated to conciliate the supporters of Conkling in pressing General Grant for a third term; but his position was that of the faction that assailed Garfield, and he suffered greatly because he was misunderstood and sensitive. He sought manfully to meet and subdue the cross currents in the vortex into which he was thrown, and it was practically impossible for him to keep Garfield's Cabinet to the end. He treated all with courtesy, and won respect as President; but though nearly all the States in Republican Convention approved his administration, his battle for election to the Presidency was lost when it was begun.

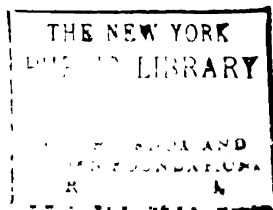
Mr. Roosevelt does not suffer from the disabilities and inheritance of hostility which affected his predecessors who reached the Presidency through



OYSTER BAY ON NORTH SHORE OF LONG ISLAND, BATHING BEACH



THE ROOSEVELT HOME AT OYSTER BAY



the Constitutional provision, and the laws fixing the succession. His candidacy was not that of an opponent of the McKinley Administration, though he certainly was not the choice of the Cabinet as a body for the Vice-Presidential nomination, one of themselves being preferred. This was, however, all in good part, and an honorable competition, and the same people, in the largest dimensions of the word as applicable to the Republicans, were for Roosevelt, as they were for McKinley, and for substantially the same reasons, one being that they were beyond question the strongest combination that could be presented. The association was a happy one, and the bearing of Roosevelt has been observed by all observers, and praised by those whose good words are praise indeed. He has answered admirably all reasonable anticipations, and strengthened the confidence of the people.

Notwithstanding this, there are persons who have control of a share of publicity, and use it to insist there will presently be a storm that will blow in an altogether new Cabinet, and substantially a new policy.

The rumor that the Honorable John Hay, who, as Secretary of State, stands next to Roosevelt in the Presidential line, is about to leave the Cabinet, is offered in the same places and by the same persons, and with some shapes that were given the same story at nearly the same intervals, during the Administration of McKinley. The fact behind this is, Mr. Hay does not care to hold office, and his weariness of official labor has for some time been known to his friends. This feeling has no doubt been made more acute by his bereavement in the loss of his son. There is, perhaps, another cause; the Honorable Secretary of State may be sensible of increasing fatigue in the endless struggle in the Senate over treaties, which, no matter what their merit, are, as a custom, subjected to a line of criticism by Senators who care for treaties only as a mark for their arrows, tipped, not with deadly poison, but touched with various tinctures of Senatorial sensibility, that are irritating. An exception was made of the recent Nicaragua treaty, which was speedily confirmed, increasing Hay's freedom and fame.

President Roosevelt assuredly met all the requirements of courtesy, sympathy, personal politeness, the consideration of the public requirements of conservatism. He not only told the Cabinet he wanted them to remain with him, but there was one thing on which his mind was fixed, irrespective of their wishes, he "could not accept any resignations." He felt it an obligation of public duty to say this, and mean it with the full force of his words. This was neither the promise nor the mandate for a term of years or months. He held the Cabinet as emergency men. He did no more than his duty, and they accepted the situation in the spirit with which he gave it interpretation. The Cabinet has many strong points, the stronger that it is composed of the friends, in a special sense, of the late President, who loved them as they loved

him. All the members of the Cabinet were agreeable to and devoted to him. As a happy family they gave united strength to the public service with individual zeal. The fact of the special personal regard between the Cabinet and the late President cannot be applied to assure the endurance of the relations under the changed conditions. President Roosevelt's demand that the Cabinet should stay with him implied the presence of possibilities that there are influences with a tendency to disintegration. One thing accepted is that if Roosevelt was setting out to make a certain journey, he probably would not pursue without deviation the path of McKinley. There is no man with more striking characteristics than those of Roosevelt. He and McKinley were good friends, not because they moved in the same ways. Their differences were mutually attractive. This principle might not apply to the half dozen men of the Cabinet. There is no occasion for public alarm because the Cabinet has changed. The new appointments are satisfactory. There may at any time arise public questions upon which there must be action, and respectable differences of opinion respected. The President's powers are not in any degree impaired or limited by the circumstances of the succession.

Truthfully and very handsomely the London Standard of September 16th, said:

"The case of President Roosevelt differs from that of his predecessors. He was made Vice-President, not because he was an obscure 'safe' man, but because he was just the reverse. So far from being ineligible for the Presidency, he might, if he had pleased, have put himself forward against Mr. McKinley himself, with some chance of defeating him. But the party managers would not have him. He was too independent of them, too little disposed to resign his will to dictation, too strong a personality to be acceptable to any clique or caucus. Yet he had attracted the enthusiastic regard of so large a body of the American electors, that he might perhaps have defied the 'bosses,' and forced his way to the White House. He was too loyal to his party and to his colleagues, to set up the banner of revolt. He consented to stand aside and devote himself to his duties as Governor of New York State. But the party managers were not satisfied, and they would not rest till Mr. Roosevelt was manoeuvred into the position of Vice-President of the Republic. He submitted to the nomination with contemptuous acquiescence."

There is one word very wrong here, though it is evidently not a misprint, for contemptuous read considerate. But there was no thought by Roosevelt of contesting the Presidential nomination then. The question some of his friends raised was whether the Vice-Presidency was on the road to the Presidency, and the thought that a Vice-President should be fit to be President carried Roosevelt into the second place.

The cable agency gave Europe the news of Roosevelt's succession in these terms, when told by the Secretary of War he should take the oath of office:

"Mr. Roosevelt, coming closer to Mr. Root, said, in a voice that at first wavered but finally came deep and strong, while he held firm the lapel of his coat with his right hand, 'I shall take the oath at once in accordance with your request, and in this hour of deep and national bereavement, I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of Mr. McKinley, for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country.'"

The English account of the Washington funeral of McKinley, gives the following as to the presence of the new President:

"Mr. Roosevelt's demeanor was scrupulously retiring. He kept close to his car, except when paying sympathetic respects to Mrs. McKinley, and he saw few people, and these only his intimates. He seemed to be deeply reflecting. Never before did a President move up Pennsylvania avenue unacclaimed, with the throng singing in subdued strains the hymn which has marked Mr. McKinley's last progress over hundreds of miles. Mr. Roosevelt followed the hearse to the White House, and stood beside the coffin in the East room."

There is something vastly more than the mechanical, automatic succession of Mr. Roosevelt to the Presidency. The place is his by inheritance, by the will of the people, by the suitableness that was perfectly comprehended when he was named for the place that he accepted; and to this, not only his party, but the people at large, have assented heartily.

The most powerful influence for peace that exists in the Philippines, is the knowledge that has reached the Filipinos that President Roosevelt will not tolerate insurrection, or make pets of those shown by the captured documents, that give from true inwardness the proof that they are traitors, to their own people, the Spaniards and the Americans; and they know a regiment of Rough Riders could ride through disturbed districts, and do all that might be found necessary to restore order.

There are foreshadowings in the public press. The agitation of the people is a part of the business of publicity. When, in the same week of September last, McKinley at Buffalo, and Roosevelt at Minneapolis referred to "reciprocity" in aid of the preservation of the markets that protection provided, there was evidence of the existence of a common current of thoughtfulness moving to momentous ends. Now all the friends of protection are not agreed about the quantity and quality of reciprocity. Disagreement about ways and means is not surprising. Perhaps Roosevelt will not hesitate to proceed on a carefully considered cause, having exhausted the arts of candid diplomacy to agree with the majorities in the two Houses of Congress.

McKinley and Roosevelt seemed in their latest utterances to be in close relations on the reciprocity matter, just as Blaine and McKinley once were.

President Roosevelt is absolutely committed to the reform of the Civil Service, by the extension of the classification of the employed. That he will fight for it if opposed to the edge of resistance, all the acts of his life tell; and here he encounters the Senators who have the appointments to confirm, and the Representatives who need friends to maintain their potency; and those who care to cultivate grief, can find their cause in the revision of tariff schedules, and the refusal of the President to yield to the favoritism of patronage. There is much of interest to be speedily taken into consideration. Fortunately for us, the fashion that the defeat of a Cabinet is the fall of a government in the British sense does not prevail. A complete reorganization of the Cabinet would not cause high temperature or a low barometer, though certainly there are places hard to fill.

There was forecast of stormy weather, because we had a second treaty with England signed by Secretary Hay and the British Ambassador Pauncefote. We have a good many intelligent and excitable citizens not pleased with the colonial system of England, or the accession of King Edward VII. as a royal ruler, which does not mean actual sovereignty beyond seas, over certain great possessions. The idea of another Hay-Pauncefote treaty was abominable to these people, no matter what it was. However, there happened a pressure of public opinion obeyed by the Senate. The ratification was a mere ceremony, and mourners do not crowd the streets.

There is such transparency in the words and acts of President Roosevelt, that the men of news about Washington have not had a difficult task in understanding and imparting his proceedings. A writer who has been studying the President (not by snapping a kodak at him) pronounces him a reformer all through, who not only does not hesitate to put his reforms in practice, but has no thought or fancy of doing anything else; not even an idea that he is doing a courageous thing. He can not help acting on his convictions. That is what is to be depended on, for he fears nothing, and walks straight lines across horizons.

As to the nomination and election of the next President, that is a detail, and must take care of itself. He is not, says the gentleman with the swift pencil, "playing to the next National Republican Convention. He is not giving that a thought. No doubt he desires the nomination; no doubt he will get it; but that nomination would have no value in his eyes if secured by the manipulation of official patronage. Nobody is going to be appointed to office by Roosevelt simply because he can secure a seat in the next National Convention or control somebody who may take a seat therein. Nobody is going to be appointed to office now merely because he was defeated for a State office. Nobody is going to be appointed to office solely because he is recommended

by somebody or other and is a cog in the machine. That halcyon old time is past, and, let us hope, past forever."

And the conclusion of the correspondent is: "Roosevelt will not owe his inevitable nomination and election to office holders, but to his manliness, his arrogant integrity, his superb independence, to his industry in dispatching public business, and the admirable quality of instantaneous decision; to his keen insight of affairs present, and to his foresight as to things to be."

The Philadelphia Press says of the course the President has pursued: "In the South he has unhesitatingly taken the best man he could obtain outside of the Republican party when there was lack inside of the party of a man precisely suited to the post to be filled. In the North, where no such lack existed, he has made selections from within the party. He has consulted with all. He has heard all. He has frankly recognized the claims of party leaders to give party advice. He has refused to antagonize any one or to be controlled by any one. And when all was over he has acted as the President of the United States.

"He has made no appointments to which any party leader could take offense; but he has insisted on taking a broad view of party relations, and he has recognized and acted on the conclusion, that in a great State like New York or a small State like Delaware party responsibility and party claims cannot be narrowed to a single man, confined to a single group, or limited to a single following. All Republicans working for and in the party, possessing its confidence and holding office through its call and choice, must be considered in selections for office; and the manifest justice of this has made it both unwise and inexpedient for any man and any leader publicly to object to this broad, catholic, and impartial policy.

"The army, the navy, and the colonial service of the country, President Roosevelt has recognized as being essentially non-partizan and non-political. The President has sought, as have few Presidents, to cut off from these selections social as well as political influence; and of the two, every man familiar with the army and navy knows that social influence has been, in the army and navy, both more deleterious and more dangerous than political, ten times over. The worst appointments in our military service have had an insidious social influence behind them. In the army, navy, and colonial service President Roosevelt purposes to recognize no claim whatever based on political influence or a social pull."

The first change in the Cabinet after the death of McKinley, was the resignation of the Postmaster General, Charles Emery Smith, to resume the Editorial Chair of the Press. The President accepted Mr. Smith's resignation reluctantly, for the administration of the vast Postoffice Department had been intelligent, prompt and clean.

Circumstances made it necessary for Mr. Smith to return to Philadelphia, as he had for sometime desired to do. The President gave the retiring Postmaster General a farewell dinner, and invited friends to call after dinner. Mr. Smith said at the dinner: "I had not intended to spring any surprise on the public in this matter. The fact is that I have for a long time desired to retire. The considerations which impel me have been all along and are now entirely personal and private. A month ago I told the President it was imperatively necessary that I should be allowed to go and that it was my wish to remain here only so long as my presence seemed an indispensable convenience."

The Baltimore Sun, at the time of Mr. Smith's retirement, prophesied a bitter war between the Senate and the President, and headed its presentation of the theory of war on Pennsylvania avenue, "The President on the Road to Jordan"—a suggestion of "Jordan is a hard road to travel."

The Sun continued:

"President Roosevelt has always been more distinguished for his courage than for his flexibility, and it is just possible that he might attain his ends more surely, or come nearer to them, by pursuing a more conciliatory course.

"The late President McKinley had the advantage to carry with him to the Executive office long years of experience in Congress. He understood Congress as few of his predecessors in the Presidential office had; and while upon the whole he made many and great concessions of his own views and purposes, it is probable that he exerted more influence over the legislative branch of the Government than any other Executive since Andrew Jackson. Jackson accomplished his purposes in Congress more or less by determination, and McKinley by fine management and concessions. But the Congress, and especially the Senate, with which Jackson had to deal was a different and far less formidable body than that which now confronts Mr. Roosevelt."

There is in this, instructive history, but the Senate is not a consolidated fighting body. The President is a fighting man with no time for finesse; and he does not seek to put in place persons who are rapacious for him. He asks for the best men, and if they are not recommended by the Senators or Members, he appoints the best he can find. There are, in some parts of the country, politicians who have claimed places on account of "color," backed by incapability. The President has been civil to Mr. Booker Washington, the best representative man of color, and consulted him. This master stroke is not fully recognized, but the ultimate effect already perceptible, will aid the President with both races in the South. Senators will not make haste to step barefooted on hot iron in such a case, especially as they know the President will fight all his battles to a finish, and there is no possibility of intimidation.

The managing editor of the most important international paper in the world—the Times of London—was in the United States last summer, and wrote a powerful communication about the Senate of the United States in respect to treaties, plainly intimating that there were Senatorial influences relentlessly and irrationally opposed to the ratification of any treaty with England. He gave a terse statement of the constitutional power of the Senate, as follows:

“The Constitution of the United States places in the hands of the President the conduct of foreign relations, but rather by implication than by direct mandate. The President ‘shall have power,’ so reads the Constitution, ‘by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur,’ and this provision has been interpreted to mean, that, while the President may initiate, the Senate alone can conclude; in other words, the President proposes and the Senate disposes.”

Further, this forcible remark is made:

“The Senate has the right to amend any treaty which the President may negotiate; that, to quote the words of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of ‘Haver vs. Yaker,’ ‘The Senate is not required to adopt it or reject it (a treaty) as a whole, but may modify or amend it, as was done with the treaty under consideration;’ but in the early days that was a right seldom exercised. Of recent years the Senate has become the dominant force in legislation; it has made the House of Representatives merely a cipher in the legislative equation, and has compelled the President, if he would live in peace and amity with his legislative Assembly, to recognize the power of the Senate. In order to enlarge and increase that power, it has argued that treaties negotiated by the President and sent to the Senate for ratification ‘are not strictly treaties, but projects for treaties; they are still inchoate.’ This was the expression used by Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, a member of the committee on foreign relations, after the Senate had amended the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. Mr. Lodge defended his position with great ability and ingenuity. He quoted John Quincy Adams and Secretary of State Henry Clay in support of his contention; and he drew attention to the fact that Washington, before commencing the negotiation of the Jay Treaty with England, consulted the Senate, which he cited in support of his argument that the Senate has equal treaty-making powers with the President.”

Here are practical points stated: Mr. Hay simply exchanged notes with the Powers regarding the open door in China, instead of attempting to conclude treaties, as he realized the impossibility of action by the Senate on the treaties. At any time during the last few years Mr. Hay could have concluded a treaty with two of the Great Powers to maintain the integrity of China, and he was approached by the representatives of those Powers to enter into nego-

tiations, but, knowing that it would be simply a waste of time to discuss the question, he declined to enter into its consideration.

Naturally, this writer takes up the case, "both real and supposed," of a treaty with England, and what befalls it from three hostile sources. First, "men antagonistic to Great Britain, who by birth and environment can never talk about England except to insult her, who would, if they had their way, ratify no convention with Great Britain. The second group is made up of men who are either politically opposed to the Administration, and who see an opportunity to make political capital by defeating any Administration measure, or who are of the same political faith as the President, but 'disgruntled' because they have been slighted in the matter of patronage, or because in some other way their feelings have been ruffled. These men cannot afford to fight the Administration openly, but covertly they can attack it. They can raise objections, they can doubt the wisdom or patriotism of concluding the treaty, they can, and do, employ the methods of the assassin, and, under cover, deal it a death wound. The third element is composed of the men who oppose the treaty because of the object sought to be obtained—for example, in the case of the recent Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, the men whose interests are with the Transcontinental railroads."

The "Manager" of the "Thunderer," whose place is more important than that of any diplomatic official, except in an extraordinary case, remarked:

"Brushing aside fine-drawn, hair-splitting constitutional technicalities, and coming to the practical question involved, one sees at once how the President is always at the mercy of the Senate, how he is completely controlled by it, and how he is hampered in the conduct of foreign relations. In fact, the veto power exercised by the Senate over the President in the conduct of foreign relations has been regarded by many men of great intelligence as the weakest spot in the Constitution; and it has led Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, to say that it is impossible for the United States to enter into world politics, as its constitutional system makes impossible the carrying on of secret and delicate negotiations. Ninety men, the present membership of the Senate, cannot hold a secret, when treaties sent to the Senate in confidence are published in the newspapers twenty-four hours later, when the full proceedings of an Executive session are always reported in the newspapers the following day, although the members of the Senate take an oath not to reveal.

"Because of the uncertainty of the disposition of a treaty by the Senate, of recent years a custom has grown up, illegal, probably—certainly without constitutional warrant—by which the State Department is rendered independent of the Senate. It has been the practice of Secretaries of State to conclude a *modus vivendi*, which, while having no binding force as a treaty, con-

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PURSUIITS OF PEACE

stitutes practically an agreement, and, not being a treaty, does not have to be ratified by the Senate.

"More than twenty years ago a distinguished public man of great acumen and long experience in official life told Mr. Evarts, then Secretary of State, that no contentious treaty, no matter what its merits, could hereafter be ratified with England, and the experience of the past two decades has shown the exactness of his prophecy. Since 1880 treaties made with Great Britain, and about which there was a controversy, have either been rejected, or so amended that their acceptance was impossible."

All this seems much less formidable since the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty No. 2 was promptly ratified. The credit of good judgment and friendly consideration in this case, however, belongs to England.

The American correspondent of the important English journal, to whose visiting Manager we have already referred, publishes a very interesting installment of information, and his first point is about the question of color:

"The President, with the impulsive gallantry natural to him, faced it as soon as it presented itself; and it happened to be the most awkward form of it which presented itself—the social form. He asked Mr. Booker Washington to dine, just as he asked the white president of a great labor union to dine last week. He wanted to talk with each and treated each in the same spirit. There was no criticism of the invitation to the labor leader. Concerning the man of color there was a savage outburst of race animosity in the South, and a feeling in the North that an offence to that feeling was an indiscretion. It may have been an indiscretion or it may not. Whether it were or not, the President remains impenitent."

The fact here stated has not received the attention its pertinence calls for, as to the first act of the President:

"I go back to Buffalo for a moment, and to the anxiety which Mr. Roosevelt's accession undoubtedly caused among some very important sections of the community. So keen was this anxiety that, when the death of President McKinley was known to be inevitable, a number of very great personages in the financial world met in New York and drew up a kind of petition to his successor. They asked Mr. Roosevelt to reassure them and the public on certain points by a public statement, and especially to pledge himself that the general policy of his predecessor would be his policy. This they forwarded by messenger to Buffalo. *Before the messenger reached Buffalo President Roosevelt had, of his own motive and from his own clear sense of public duty, made the very statement these gentlemen desired him to make.*

"I spoke of the President as a man of action, and he is that; but there is no denying that he is also a man of words, and sometimes of a good many words. Some of his acts have been books. He has always been writing, and

a London review published only this month an article from his pen, though it was, in fact, written by him before he became President. Of late years he has written much in American magazines. Essentially modern in thought and in his way of looking at life, he has never parted company with the past nor lost his interest in history, of which, in his own way, he is a student. An English writer of distinction who was here not long ago will not have forgotten the discourse he heard from the Vice-President after dinner the night before the Inauguration on episodes of early Macedonia, and events with which the names of Antipater and Anaxagoras are connected. In his written, as in his spoken, sentences the life-blood of the man runs and flows. Into them, as into his gestures, he puts a world of nervous energy, of which he perhaps expends more than he need. I thought as I listened on Sunday he had learned to husband his resources a little. The Presidency makes enormous demands, and soon leaves its mark on its holder. There are new lines in his face, and there are new ideas in his mind. If the force of conviction be not less, as it certainly is not, he takes for granted a more receptive mood in his auditor."

The English writer has an idea there is an American imperialism, and says President McKinley was one, "the first and greatest of them," and:

"This is not a criticism, far less a reproach. He would not call things by their right names, but he did the right things; which is considerably more important. Nay, he did them better and secured a far larger public support by sugar-coating his Imperial pill. We do not even yet accept Imperialism as a name. Our possessions in the Philippines which we won by the sword and hold by the sword, our island of Puerto Rico, our protectorate over Cuba, of which we have complete military control, the canal we are going to build across the isthmus, and finally the Monroe doctrine, which stretches over two continents like a shield—to no one nor all of these is the word Imperial to be applied. Perhaps we have in mind the Roman Republic, or the French, under both of which an Imperial policy was found just as practicable and efficient as when each was called an Empire."

The correspondent impressively adds:

"Now, when President Roosevelt pledged himself to follow out the policy of President McKinley there was no portion of that policy he had more completely resolved to pursue unflinchingly than the Imperial portion. His present Message shows that, convinced as all of it is, the passages dealing with the lately acquired possessions of the United States beyond its continental borders are the most convinced of all. They are something more than the announcement of an intellectual perception of the country's needs. They vibrate with deep feeling. A third of the Message is devoted to them, including the navy which is essentially an Imperial question. And they scarce evoke a protest. What has happened within three or four years in the Pacific, in China, and nearer home,

has given the American people a new sense of its position in the world, and of its responsibilities and opportunities. They recognize in their new President the incarnation of these new ideas. The Hour has come and the Man.

"It cannot be too clearly understood abroad that on this class of subjects there is no real division among the American people. The division which existed has ceased to exist."

This writer says of the President:

"When the missionary spirit is upon him, silence becomes impossible to him. A friend whose position entitled him to speak, wrote: 'Is there no question, Theodore, upon which we may be allowed to decide without your intervention?' If at times his Americanism seemed to pass by imperceptible shades into jingoism, there was, I am sure, a physical reason for it. The energy of the heart was excessive; and this may be taken in either a muscular or spiritual sense at the will of the reader. The school to which he then belonged has had an immense influence on the fortunes of the Republic. It has transformed what was, down to three years ago, an established political system."

The story that Senator Lodge is to be "a sort of cross between a Warwick and a Hanna," is not largely credited, because the President listens to all, but the Englishman we are quoting says, "An intimate friend of the President said to me that there was but one person to whose judgment he really deferred, and that one person is Mrs. Roosevelt. That also is a trait of pure Americanism; perhaps nowhere else does the husband's loyalty to the wife include so much."

The President is endeared to the English by his love of sport on a great scale, because he is "a mighty hunter before the Lord; a good shot, a good horseman, tireless in the chase. He has written a big book on 'Big Game Hunting in the Rockies and on the Great Plains'—one of several. He says in the 'foreword' to this book, 'All the kinds of big game in these vast regions I have hunted and killed,' and adds:

"'Mountain and plain, marsh and forest, have been mine to roam over, and I have followed the wild game for food and for sport where no man had property rights in a rood of ground. Such a life is of all lives the freest and most fascinating.'

"But 'the wilderness has been conquered and the game killed off,' and the Nimrod of earlier and recent days is President of the United States. There remains the extreme North, 'the land of the musk ox, the barren ground caribou, the Polar bear, the snow sheep, and the fish grizzly;' and the South, 'where the spotted jaguar is king.' I asked the President when he hoped to go afield again. His answer was like him. 'I must do my work here first, but I have planned a hunting trip with R. for next autumn.'

"A many-sided, much-enduring, much-enjoying kind of man. Like Ulysses, he has known men and cities. The country he has now to govern he knows as few know it. Few Americans have seen so much of so many of the five-and-forty States of the Great Republic. Eastern by birth and training, he is Western by instinct and by much experience of Western life. Perhaps his greatest popularity was in the West; it was the delegates from plain and prairie that were most resolutely bent on nominating him at Philadelphia for Vice-President, whether he would or no. They suspended in his favor their inveterate inland distrust of what comes from the Atlantic, and their conviction that the progress of wisdom and of empire is toward the setting sun. A graduate of Harvard University, a member of its board of governors, a student, a writer of history and of essays, political and ethical, the biographer of Gouverneur Morris, on the one side, and of Cromwell, on the other, with pride of blood and of birth, and much of that culture for culture's sake which the cowboy despises, he nevertheless stands close to the heart of the Great West; which is so great that it sometimes forgets there is a Great East also. The President, and not as President only, stretches out a hand to both. He cannot, if he would, escape the influence of his descent, of his Dutch, and Huguenot and, I believe, Scottish blood also. Heredity is stronger than he.

"Believing himself, as I said, a democrat of democrats, he has the intuitive habit of command, and what does that rest on, if not on a just sense of superiority to the commanded? Ask the police of New York whether they were ever disciplined by a firmer hand than Roosevelt's. Ask the navy whether any civilian Secretary ever was more evidently born to the quarterdeck. Ask the Legislature of New York State what Governor ever imposed his will more relentlessly on the elected representatives of the people. Ask his regiment of Rough Riders—and they were rough—what kind of discipline ruled that unruly regiment, and by what stern methods it was enforced. Ask his friends and political associates whether they have found him a man easily turned from his purpose or ever reluctant to assert his own will. Search the records of the Civil Service, of which he was Commissioner for six years, for evidence of any feebleness of purpose in carrying out the measures of reform which the politicians of both parties most fervently detested.

"Chief servant of the Republic, yes; but Chief Magistrate also, and penetrated to the core with the conviction that the business of a Government is to govern. In these days, when so many flabby conceptions of authority prevail, we may be thankful for a ruler who has a backbone. It were better to be governed badly than weakly, and the worst government is surely better than none. But now comes a man who will rule strongly, and we all now think wisely. If it be true, as de Tocqueville long since warned us, that there is no tyranny like the tyranny of a democracy, it is surely better that this spirit of

dominance be concentrated and incarnated in the individual we have chosen to bear sway over us. He has to do the thinking for seventy millions of people, too much absorbed in the vast enterprises of a revolutionary civilization to think for themselves in matters of detail. Now there never has been a time in Roosevelt's life when he had not the true apostolic impulse to preach the gospel to all mankind. His books, his speeches, all his writings and sayings are full of it. He has thought himself into his beliefs, and he announces them in the tone which goes far to make them the beliefs of other people. The Presidency gives him an unequaled opportunity of stereotyping them into law.

"'In this world,' wrote the President recently, 'the one thing supremely worth having is the opportunity, coupled with the capacity, to do well and worthily a piece of work the doing of which is of vital consequence to the welfare of mankind.' That was said with reference to Mr. Taft's entrance upon the governorship of the Philippines; 'thrice fortunate is such an opportunity;' added the President. What he said of that difficult yet infinitely less difficult post than the Presidency may stand well enough for himself. Young, as youth is now reckoned in public life—he is forty-three—with such health and power of sustained work as are granted to few, the road to further distinction and wider usefulness lies open before him; straight, broad, not smooth, full of great occasions for great mistakes or greater public service. Impulsive, impetuous at moments of his past career, he knows that he has been both, and he said of himself—not to me—that while his speech may have sometimes bewrayed him, and while many an act may have been ill-advised, when did he take any important decision rashly? For rashness, now, there is no room, and perhaps no man is less likely to do an unconsidered thing than he whose candid friends, and enemies more candid still, have so often warned of this tendency to yield to the suggestion of the hour. They said of McKinley that he kept his finger on the pulse of the nation. This is a President who knows that he has to keep his finger on his own. That lesson well learned, no man in this high office can well have too much of the vitality or buoyancy of soul which belongs to Mr. Theodore Roosevelt."

President McKinley left prosperity beaming upon the land in golden harvests, the public opinion that surrounded him with appreciation and an atmosphere of high regard and loving sympathy. Theodore Roosevelt, under the command of the Constitution, took the oath, and assumed the duty of the high office; and the crowning mercy is that the gain of the nation was not the loss of the State, for there was no friction in the succession—the highest testimony to the smooth working of our system—proving that safety is in the dynasties, not of families, but of the people; and the Vice President became President, not to change but to fulfill; and his earliest declaration was that he would pursue the lines marked down by his predecessor; and the Cabinet

was continued without the formality of resignation, the President's call to remain being an invitation to duty, the acceptance of which was commanded, not imperatively but inevitably.

The Governor of the Empire State, as President of the United States, has the evidence of his life's labors that he has pursued the right course to grasp the greater opportunities of usefulness; and his countrymen know, from his history, that he has not merely a very unusual and thorough preparation for his position, but most admirable aspirations. His hand is firm, and his good works praise him. Far more than that, the Honorable Seth Low, the fame of whose administration as Mayor of Brooklyn in his early manhood, helped the example of Theodore Roosevelt, as he wrought in the Assembly of the State, the Police Commission, the Gubernatorial integrity, with a strong hand, so that Tammany, with all the blandishments of infamous power, is overwhelmed in a flood, magnificent and beneficent as ever rises and rolls cleansing waters to wash away fetid accumulations and sweeps aside the rottenness that has caused our municipal governments to be reviled. The master representative and organizer of evil in New York, finds his shield and club battered and broken, and retires with the remark that there is a "silent vote," and "the people sometimes want a change." Seth Low, in November, 1901, was elected Mayor of New York, and Theodore Roosevelt is President of the United States, with the confidence of the country. Each has before him a prodigy of problems.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE QUESTION OF RACE.

It Is the Bequest of Slavery—Roosevelt a President without Prejudice—Phases of Racial Problem—The President's Oration on Frederick Douglass—Shall We Amend the Constitution?

THAT Theodore Roosevelt, twenty-fifth President of the United States, has no prejudices against the white people of the South is as certain as that his mother was a Southern woman, and sympathized with the South in the war that raged between the brethren of sister States when he was a child in her arms. He believes, as the enlightened world believes, though States revolted against the constitutionally elected and benign Lincoln, who never ceased to love his native State, Kentucky, and never for a day was as angry as he was grieved, that it was the passionate act of misguided men that cost his countrymen so much precious blood, and gave the race the glory that has gone so far around.

This generation of Americans, in all the States, believes that the Southern Confederacy was a gigantic mistake, redeemed only by the valor of the fighting men who gave the lost cause a military history so brilliant that the whole people may be proud of it, though the beginning was in political error; and it is the accepted belief of enlightened mankind, that the States of the South, after all, won when they lost; and would have been infinitely injured if their genius for war had given them the victory. They had the honor as soldiers, and the faith of brave men, to be at peace when they surrendered; and can claim a share of the serene glory of Appomattox, because when they gave up the fight, they did not persist in a horrible war of heedless desolation. They maintained the honor of arms, and no men know better or honor more the tone of chivalry that abides with that sense of honor and was displayed by the vanquished army Lee surrendered. It was, as was said by Lee when he gave up the fight, that the blood shed in a lost cause was murder; and his conviction that the cause was lost made peace. Lincoln and Grant accepted victory as peace with honor. Grant held fast when Lincoln was no more, to the spirit of the terms of capitulation.

In the days before the war it was often said, with Southern pride, that the people of the South were less unjust to the blacks than the people of the

North; and there were relations between the class of masters who were as kings to the subject race and those for whom they held themselves responsible, that softened at times the horrors of slavery itself. The slave question ran at us—the people of the United States—open mouthed as a political question, not exclusively or chiefly as a social relation, or even a racial issue. It was estimated that there was in the slave States a representation of persons held to service—a phrase equivalent in meaning to slavery—amounting to thirty members of the House of Representatives. That figure was given by a Mississippi member on the floor of the House, and probably it was too high. He said to a Northern member, "The negro has thirty representatives here. Let us see you put the nigger out of the House, sir." It was the voice of an ardent Mississippian.

The racial question is as great as the slave question, and not susceptible to the solution of the sword. Grant and Lee might meet in vain as leaders of armies or councilors, to abolish the problem of the African and European question we have in specially formidable form in North America. The European immigration was the legitimate movement of labor Westward, when the discovery of the New World did not reveal in the red man a supply of labor; and then came the call for black labor, and the demand was supplied by the African slave trade. Its victims in the course of the fearful commerce in men lured the sharks across the sea to inhabit the caves of the rocks at the mouth of the harbor of Havana.

Whatever may be the time taken, or the cost of the process of the policy that prevails, the history of man points straight to the necessity of doing justice between man and man on the broad terms of the Declaration of Independence. Our people do not like the Spanish way of mixing races. In Havana, at the public balls in the Tacon Theatre, the blacks and whites waltz together, without regard to color; white women with black men, and white men with black women, all smoking cigarettes, with often a long white ash that seems never to fall in the upturned faces of the dancers; but that is not conjecturable as a way of conclusion of the racial problem in our country. It is separated from our condition by a century or two, more or less, whichever road we take, and we are not traveling far on that subject. The race question is so portentous, those who know the most seem to have the least to say of it; and perhaps the part of wisdom is to ask for time, and do all that can be done, in human kindness, in the interest of peaceful evasions in forcing rugged issues of the problems that are insoluble. It is safe to say that we may remember the quality of mercy, and may hope to find on earth the statesmanship of Heaven.

President Roosevelt has done two things that have caused agitation in the South. The first worried a class of politicians that are the production of

the solid partisan situation of the Southern South; and the second has troubled the sensitiveness of the Southern dominant race in the districts and States where the black people are in the majority. It is more than a problem—it is a puzzle—what shall be done when the majority of citizens of a sovereign State are of the disfranchised class? This is to be referred to committees of consultation.

President Roosevelt is the first man who has filled the great office, whose memory does not include personal knowledge of that which took place before Appomattox; who did not, in his mind at least, take part in “the irrepressible conflict” of which the statesman Seward spoke; or participate as a partizan in settling whether the country should be all slave or all free, instead of half slave and half free, to employ Lincoln’s way of putting the same case at the same time. More than this, President Roosevelt is the first President in all our history, himself half Northern and half Southern. His father was a New Yorker, his mother a Georgian. He goes no farther than his own parents and their immediate kindred to include honored historic names in the two Empire States of the sections divided by the Red Sea of War.

Let those who can go to the deepest sources of vital information as to his state of mind and conscience and the determination of duty, examine the official reports and magazine and journalistic essays written by Theodore Roosevelt, of the Civil Service Commission, and see how eager and strong he was for a change in office holding, composed upon qualifications especially educational, that gave the most enlightened people official consideration. His views on that subject were well known to the representatives of the Republican party in the National Convention that first nominated a Vice-President with unanimity; and he got every vote from the South, and all but his own from the North.

As President Roosevelt construed, and so far as he had power, enforced, the Civil Service law when a Commissioner, he will do as he has thus far done, in the way of selecting competent men for office, which the masses of the white people in the Southern States have for a generation solicited. He proposes to eliminate an element of competition. The color line can not, in justice, common sense, or decently fair play, be drawn against the blacks on this subject; and it would not be honorable to draw it, if it were practicable, which it is not. Why, therefore, the rude quaking and clamor that we have heard about Booker Washington dining with the President of the United States? There is something about this unreasonable and irrational. The President of the United States must, if he has reached, and has not lost, the common discretion of a sound and disposing mind, feel the obligation to treat with civility a representative man—and that man, according to the tests in all other countries, a gentleman—who is one of the nine million citizens of these United

States. The outcry against this commonplace courtesy to a man who has done a great work for his people, is a "relic of barbarism." Is there, by possibility, a subterranean political movement about this disturbance, because there have been many declarations that if the fear of black dominance could be exorcised from the South, all the States that were half way or altogether in the Southern Confederacy would change their politics, and there would be found no fork in the national road they would travel.

Booker Washington has the statesmanship and the instinct of supporting the thing that can be done, that leads him to believe the better course for the people of his race is not to stir up strife by office seeking, especially by those who, through no fault of their own perhaps, are incompetently ignorant. He believes in the further emancipation of his race, through the increase in numbers and advantages of education of black farmers and the black housekeepers on the land their husbands own.

The real issue that appeals to the people is, whether we shall make an effort to put out sectionalism from National politics, not to go through the old formula of those who sought to elude the questions of the day by shouting, "No North, no South, no East, no West." Let us have a North, South, East and West—a solid quadrilateral.

What record on the questions of section and questions of race has Theodore Roosevelt made? There is no mystery, no shadow of doubt, about his opinions. He speaks without uncertainty of all things that interest the people, and his utterances have been more remarkable for their frankness and their force than the sayings of any other man of his age and generation. Has there been any finer tribute paid to the South since the war of her desolation than this, written by President Roosevelt, of his reception in Texas with his troops, on the way from San Jacinto to Tampa, Florida, and bloody Santiago de Cuba? The words are those of a hero, a high toned gentleman, a humane man, who knew and respected, as it was in his heart's blood and brain to regard and revere, the misfortune of brave men who were beaten in tremendous war; and good women who suffered and were sad because the fife and drum and bugle gave them music that stirred sorrowful memories:

"Everywhere the people came out to greet us and cheer us. They brought us flowers; they brought us watermelons and other fruits, and sometimes jugs and pails of milk—all of which we greatly appreciated. We were traveling through a region where practically all the older men had served in the Confederate Army, and where the younger men had all their lives long drunk in the endless tales told by their elders, at home, and at the cross-roads taverns, and in the court-house squares, about the cavalry of Forrest and Morgan, and the infantry of Jackson and Hood. The blood of the old men stirred to the distant breath of battle; the blood of the young men leaped hot with eager desire to

accompany us. The older women, who remembered the dreadful misery of war—the misery that presses its iron weight most heavily on the wives and the little ones—looked sadly at us; but the young girls drove down in beavies, arrayed in their finery, to wave flags in farewell to the troopers and to beg cartridges and buttons as mementos. Everywhere we saw the Stars and Stripes, and everywhere we were told, half-laughing, by grizzled ex-Confederates, that they had never dreamed in the bygone days of bitterness to greet the old flag as they now were greeting it, and to send their sons, as now they were sending them, to fight and die under it.”

We have said much of the unreserved speech of President Roosevelt. What has he said, may be asked, that is not precisely to the point and unclouded, about matters of the same nature as are involved in the dining with a black gentleman question? He has done that in his capacity as Governor of New York, and his address is found in the volume of public papers of Governor Roosevelt for the year 1899. The occasion was the unveiling of the monument of Frederick Douglass, whose name is full of history, at Rochester, New York, June 10th, 1899. We present his address in full that there may be no glint of color absent from the color question.

Address at Unveiling of Frederick Douglass Monument,
At Rochester, June 10th, 1899:

“Mr. President: I am glad to have the honor of being here to-day. I am proud to be able to do my part in paying respect to the memory of a man who was a worthy representative of his race because he was a worthy representative of the American nation.

“Doubly proud I am to take part in a representative way in a demonstration in which so prominent a part is played by the old soldiers, who fought for four years for the freedom of that race to which Frederick Douglass belonged, and in order that there might be an undivided and indissoluble Union. Doubly proud am I, comrades of the last war, that you and I had the chance last summer to show that we were at least anxious to be not unworthy sons of those who fought in the great war.

“Here to-day, in sight of the monument of the great colored American, let us all strive to pay the respect due his memory by living in such a manner as to determine that a man shall be judged for what a man is, without regard to his color, race or creed, or aught else but his worth as a man. That lesson has a double side and I would dwell upon the one side just as I would on the other side.

“The worst enemy of the colored race is the colored man who commits some hideous wrong, especially if that be the worst of all crimes, rape; and the worst enemy of the white race is the man who avenges that crime by another crime, equally infamous.

"I would I could preach that doctrine, that it is best for each to know and realize, that all over this country, not merely in the South, but in the North as well, shameless deeds of infamous hideousness should be punished speedily; but by the law, not by another crime. I would preach to the colored man that the vicious and disorderly elements of his own race are the worst enemies of his race, and that he is in honor bound to war against them. I would preach to the white man that he who takes part in lawless acts, in such lynchings as we have recently known, is guilty not only of a crime against the colored race, but guilty of a crime against his own race, and against the whole nation.

"If it were in my power, I would feel that I could render service to my country such as I could render in no other way, by preaching that doctrine in its two sides to all who are in any degree responsible for the crimes by which our country has been disgraced in the past. It is for the interest of every man, black and white, to see that every criminal, black and white, is punished at once; but only under the law. Every scoundrel who commits rape or some similar infamy, and every body of men who usurp the province of the law, who usurp it by committing deeds which would make a red Indian blush with shame, prove that they are not only unworthy of citizenship in this country, but that they are the worst enemies this country contains.

"There is a great lesson taught by the life of Frederick Douglass, a lesson we can all of us learn; not merely from the standpoint of his relations with the colored race, but his relations with the State. The lesson that was taught by the colored statesman was the lesson of truth, honesty, and strong courage, of striving for the right; the lesson of disinterested and fearless performance of civic duty.

"I would appeal to every man in this great audience to take to heart the lesson taught by his life; to realize that he must strive to fulfill his duty as an individual citizen, if he wishes to see the State do its duty. The State is only the aggregate of the individual citizens.

"There is another thought that I want to preach to you, a lesson to be learned from the life of the colored statesman, Frederick Douglass; strive to do justice to all men, exact it for yourselves and do it to others.

"I want to draw an application of immediate consequence at this moment. The Legislature passed at its last session and placed on the statute books one of the most beneficial and righteous laws that this State has seen in recent years; a law declaring that corporations that derive the greater part of their profits from the franchises they enjoy shall bear a fair share of the burden of taxation. In putting that law on the statute books, we were animated by no vindictive spirit; we were neither for nor against corporations or private individuals. We acted not as a friend of the man of means nor his enemy; simply as the friend of all men who do their whole duty to the State.

"Since that law has been put on the statute books I have seen in the public press notices, in more than one form that efforts are to be made by trying to take technical advantage of some provisions put in the law for the express purpose of seeing that no injustice was done to the corporations.

"Just think of it! Of the corporations striving to work the undoing of the law, seizing on the provision inserted for the protection of the corporations themselves. I do not think it possible that the law can be declared unconstitutional on the grounds claimed, but I wish to emphasize the danger these men bring, not only to the State, but to the corporations they represent.

"I say this as one who deprecates class or social hostility; the franchise tax has come to stay. The corporations should make up their minds absolutely that if success attended the attempt to show the present law to be unconstitutional—a possibility I do not conceive—a more drastic law would be placed on the statute books. Let them learn that on the one side; and may you on the other side instruct your representatives, that they approach the subject in no spirit of vindictiveness, in no spirit of demagoguery, but with a view to do equal justice to all men.

"I am glad Frederick Douglass has left behind him men of his race who can take up his mantle; that he has left such a man as Booker T. Washington, a man who is striving to teach his people to rise by toil to be better citizens; by resolute determination to make themselves worthy of American citizenship, until the whole country is forced to recognize their good citizenship.

"I am glad to have the chance to come here because I feel that all Americans should pay honor to Frederick Douglass. I am glad to be able to speak to so many men of his race and to impress on them, too, the lesson to be drawn from the life of such a man. I am more than glad to speak to an audience of Americans in the presence of a monument to the memory of Frederick Douglass, a man who possessed the eminent qualities of courage and disinterestedness in the service of his country; to appeal to you to demand those qualities in your public men that made Douglass great—qualities that resulted in the courageous performance of every duty, private and public."

This oration was delivered more than a year before the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt for the Vice-Presidency—a year and nine months before the latest Presidential election. In the oration of Roosevelt in the unveiling of the Rochester monument to Frederick Douglass, he introduces and honors the name of Booker T. Washington. Frederick Douglass said Abraham Lincoln was a man whose manner never contained a proclamation of recognition that he was a black man, and, therefore, one who offended propriety in being present in the White House or anywhere else. Not only did the Governor of New York, twenty-one months before he was elected in the several States by the electors of the States, and the vote counted by Congress, the two bodies in

joint session witnesses, honor the memory of a great black man in his State; but he referred to the taxation of franchises, and as was said in complimenting another man, free and bold in his address, he "slammed his weighty words right at his hearers."

It would be an evasion not to say something on the color question, that to some extent has succeeded the slavery question, as it has been pressed upon the general attention and complaint in that connection made, that the war amendments of the Constitution are not enforced, and so held in abeyance by the construction that they nullify each other; that it would be well to abolish the XVth Amendment, for it has interfered with the XIVth Amendment, which itself would permit the States in which the racial question is paramount, to disfranchise a portion of the citizens, by consenting to the reduction of the apportionment of representatives and electors in Congress and the Electoral College. The idea behind this proposal is that it is most desirable the Nation should not have a constitutional nullification, inflicting a cureless wound; and if the States with a very considerable proportion of men of color should favor a qualified suffrage, they could do so by abandoning the strength in national affairs, gained by the irregular disfranchisement managed indirectly; but that is another question, and perhaps both North and South would think the remedy for the nullification of the Constitution by the dominant class worse than the evil, and, therefore, no cure.

CHAPTER XXII.

ROOSEVELT IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

"Strenuous Life" There—First Night in President's Home—Dignity Need Not be Tedious—Quickened Foot-Steps—The Functions of Luncheon—Busy Day—Horseback Ride—The President upon a Gallop—New Year's Reception—Play of the Children Pleases All.

THE manner of the life of President Roosevelt at the White House excites much interest. He has changed habits as constrained by the pressure of cares of office, and these affect him less than would be assumed by the unacquainted. Under all conditions, he is systematic as active. He must have his regular hours, his walks and rides, time to himself, and change of occupation. That which he does is according to his custom, but attracts more attention than formerly, for he differs from other Presidents more in ways than years.

The presence of young children in the White House is a new and attractive feature. They "move" with vivacity, and there are none who molest them or make them afraid. The stir of young life they make is pleasing to all, with possibly the exception of those whose business is to seek the appointing power and run upon, not a barbed iron fence, but an iron wall—so stalwart and stern if beaten against by impatient irritation that it has the effect of calming the obtrusive and loquacious, who have strong opinions about Booker Washington, and the Civil Service reform classifications, and any impediment to soft and speedy acquiescence in the personal request of the functionaries.

Booker Washington himself, has in one respect, a close sympathy with the President. The objective point of the distinguished colored leader of his people, is not to find office for them. Mr. Washington is not an office-seeker. He has a great many kinds of good sense, and thinks the men of his race who are demanding places they are not fitted to fill, should be treated exactly like the white folks should be; that is, refused the offices they are not fit for, no matter how threatening they may be as to turning up in the Republican Conventions hereafter, where resolutions are passed and perhaps nominations made. Mr. Washington believes the cause of the colored people will not be helped, but impeded, by vehement politicians pushing claims on account of color. The

work done in the South under the leadership of this colored Washington, who is like a father of his people, is in the highest degree considerate and commendable, and should be supported by all good citizens heartily. The great work in Alabama under his beneficent direction is the most promising chapter in the history of his race, and the most important, conspicuous and wholesome incident in the story of the progress of the solution of the problem of races in our midst.

It would be a strange spectacle, indeed, if it should appear that the Chief Executive of the "government of the people and for the people," should be restrained by a question of complexion from extending a courtesy to a representative man of his color, of more people than live in the most populous of our States, New York, and twice as many as the population of all the States that ordained the Constitution and formed our "more perfect Union."

The luncheons at the White House by President Roosevelt are a new feature, but are already a well established function. The President does not allow his time to be occupied other than he directs. He does not receive callers in the afternoon unless upon special occasion. Appointments are made to see him at certain minutes sharp, and 12:40 P. M. is about the latest in the day, for he gives himself a brief recess after the morning exercises before he goes to luncheon. He greets his guests, leads the way to the family dining room, and there is a round table with an abundance of simple food.

Those unfamiliar with the White House may not all know that the great room of the House is the East Room, literally "The East Room," on the main floor of the "mansion." The President has abolished the words "Mansion House" on the official stationery. Formerly, letters from the White House business department were dated from the "Executive Mansion." Now the letter heads are printed "White House." It is an American "House," though said to have been planned by a French architect, and "White House" is more Republican and Democratic than "Mansion." The reception rooms, with the family and state dining rooms, are on the first floor, and the west end of the grand central hall is a pleasant, informal spot. The business offices occupy the second story, east end, immediately over the East room.

The visitor who has business with the President, or thinks so, passing the northern portico door, turns to the left, and on entering finds a stairway nigh the door into the East Room. On the landing above is a hall ample for a reception room. The comfortable seats are usually filled. In the northeast corner of the House is the important department of the Secretary to the President. Mr. George B. Cortelyou, the official Secretary, known to the world as the gentleman who aided in that capacity President McKinley, and to whom all the people are indebted for his rare intelligence, taste, tact, and forceful ability in serving the dying President with faithful vigilance, and obtaining for the Cabinet the few words from him that they, above all other



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request the pleasure of the company of
The Secretary of
and Mrs.
at a small dance at the White House
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friends, needed to know. He, too, told the reporters the truth, with precision and simplicity, and it was to him to whom the President gave the duty, that, more than any other, was delicate, and heart-breaking, of seeing that Mrs. McKinley should not be unduly alarmed. The mortally stricken President when shot, thought first of his wife. Never had there been a greater call for the fine discretion that should separate the flying fables from the authentic facts.

No death-bed ever had greater publicity than that of President McKinley. He was guarded closely as possible from agitation. Every care that love or science could direct was taken to conserve his strength. There were by the bedside the medical men, the surgeons, masters of the modern methods that warrant operations not long ago impossible, and from perils pluck safety. The highest skill in helpfulness with all the resources known to the healing profession was there, and the trained nurses that bring to the presence of desperate chances, the light touch, the silent vigilance, the gentle intuition of womanhood. The enlightened inhabitants of all climes, continents, and nations of the earth, were aware that in the Secretary of the President they had one deeper in his confidence than any other man; one whose duty was to protect him with fond discretion, and tell mankind from hour to hour all the world was entitled to know; and that it should be given with full candor, the shifting phases of the fight for the life of the Chief Magistrate, according to the judgment of competent witnesses. Never before was the publication of the passing details of a case of mortal hurt of the highest in authority of a people so admirably dealt with or given out to so wide an audience. There was a vast and passionate interest in the President's recovery, hope for the best, belief in the efficiency of science and prayer, an uncommon, intense sensibility that the intolerable must be the impossible.

It is largely owing to the clear head and just judgment of the Secretary, that the dying words of McKinley—the beautiful story of his fortitude, murmuring favorite hymns, sending for his wife as he felt the shadows of the dark valley he was entering darken—that the whole sacred scene of matchless pathos has been given to the world. It has hardly been quite understood that the President suffered great agony, that the light of his mind was not put out with morphine, and, therefore, the world was bettered by his last testimony.

Associated with Mr. Cortelyou, is Mr. Loeb, the personal Secretary of President Roosevelt, who was with him when Governor on the memorable tour through the West, and when Vice-President. The President is fortunate in having an effective organization for dealing with his enormous correspondence. With the aid of his personal Secretary, intimate with his former affairs, and the Secretary to McKinley, the right hand of the lamented late President, the

equipment of the President for answering the innumerable calls of the people is remarkable for its responsibility and competency.

The President has simplified his duties and made possible his perfect touch with the arches of States across the Continent. His information bureau is important as a Cabinet office. He cleared the way of some of the obstructions that have a tendency to take time, saying: "I am going to select the very best men for public positions. Men appointed to high public places must be high in morals and in every respect."

With the complete and effective organization of helpers, the President is deeply occupied, but there is no danger that he will be overwhelmed. The details he understands, and with the work he performs, there is daily disposition of an immense array of demands. It is generally understood that he is disposing of time that is valuable. It is not well to be with him without this understanding. He has the faculty of promptitude, without being in the haste that leads to confusion. He can animate others to vigilance and rapidity of performance, as for example when he captured the Yucatan! This is not, however, a heated proceeding, but a cool one; or a rush for possession. The swiftness with which matters reach the final stage and pass from the scene, is not disagreeable, but rather exhilarating. It is a fact that the footsteps of those who walk about the White House, and do not serve by standing and waiting, are quickened; and the attitudes common are those that signify all hands "on deck," not alarmed but alert. Even the most attentive Senators have forgotten, apparently, that it is indispensable evidence of dignity and intimacy, that they should close a call of business by a quiet chat about matters other than urgent, and rolling about in armed chairs, taking time complacently. It is already a fixed point as to precedence that dignity is not asserted by deep deliberation over digestion. Mr. Roosevelt was graded at 100 in mathematics at his university, and he did not reach that point by general conversation, but by tasking himself to get sixty minutes worth out of an hour.

A great business centre burned one day in New York. It was, to be specific, the Western Union Telegraph office. "The General commanding" passed a group of the officers who were indulging in a speculative talk touching causes and happenings. The General paused and was polite, then remarked, "There is much to do gentlemen, and there is no time for indulgence in general conversation. Good evening." The talk was over. The rest was work.

A summary of the first day of Roosevelt in the White House has already passed into history, as follows:

Washington, Sept. 20.—President Roosevelt's first day as chief executive is told briefly as follows:

9:26 a. m.—Arrived at Pennsylvania Railway station in private car from Canton.

9:31 a. m.—Entered carriage and started for the White House.

9:40 a. m.—Reached the executive mansion, accompanied by Secretary Cortelyou and Commander Cowles.

9:45 a. m.—Entered private office formerly occupied by Mr. McKinley and seated himself at the desk of his predecessor, ready to transact the business of his high office.

9:55 a. m.—Met Secretary Long in the cabinet-room and held informal discussion over matters pertaining to the navy department and the Government generally.

10:20 a. m.—Received Colonel Sanger to talk over some army appointments.

10:35 a. m.—Signed appointment of General J. M. Bell and other minor appointments.

10:40 a. m.—Received Senator Cullom and Senator Proctor.

10:45 a. m.—Began receiving members of the Cabinet assembling for meeting.

11:00 a. m.—Called to order for first time formal meeting of Cabinet for the transaction of business.

12:30 p. m.—Adjourned Cabinet meeting.

12:35 p. m.—Received General Wood in private office and held conference with Wood and Secretary Root relative to Cuban election laws.

1:15 p. m.—Secretary Root and General Wood left.

1:20 p. m.—President left White House unattended and on foot to take lunch with Secretary Hay at the latter's residence.

3:30 p. m.—Returned to the White House accompanied by Assistant Secretary of War Sanger.

3:40 p. m.—Re-entered cabinet-room, where he received a few personal friends.

3:55 p. m.—Engaged with Secretary Cortelyou attending business matters.

6:30 p. m.—Mr. Roosevelt bade the clerks and doorkeepers good night and left the executive mansion alone. He walked without attendants through the semi-darkness to 1733 N street, the residence of his brother-in-law.

7:30 p. m.—The president dined with Captain Cowles and his family. No special guests were present.

9:00 p. m.—The president met some old friends, who informally called to pay their respects.

11:00 p. m.—The president retired for the night.

It is related, with perhaps an infusion of colored paint, that the way the President first appeared at the White House "gave his Cabinet a shock." It is fairly and fully stated, however, that this was occasioned by the way he

"plunged into business." The first day he sat in the White House with his Cabinet, he expressed the desire to acquaint himself with all matters, great and small, pertaining to the management of the departments which are likely to be brought to his consideration in the future, and by his apparent disinclination to enter upon abstruse discussion of general topics that were dear to the late President, except on occasions when public welfare demanded the closest attention to pressing matters of state.

The President arrived in the city from Canton at 9:26, and went directly from the railway station to the White House. The crowds that assembled to witness his return were surprised and pleased to find that he had resumed his famous old campaign hat, which every one supposed he had abandoned for at least four years upon the day of his return to Buffalo to take the oath of office. The hat looked so familiar that people smiled. It seemed to recall to them memories of the time when the President was the popular hero of Washington and the country during the days that preceded the declaration of war against Spain.

The president alighted from the train almost before the wheels had ceased to revolve, and made his way to a carriage with swinging strides that caused his brother-in-law, Commander Cowles, and other personal attendants and aides, to increase their gaits to a dog trot, in order to keep up with him. He left the members of his cabinet so far behind, that when they reached their carriages he was briskly crossing the front portico of the White House with the air of a man who had a great task before him, and little time in which to perform it. He proceeded directly to the cabinet-room, on the executive floor, where his predecessors had made their headquarters since the famous old executive mansion was first dedicated in the early years of the last century. Seating himself at the end of the table near the south end of the little council chamber, he was quickly immersed in a great mass of delayed business that had been accumulating for two weeks.

Secretary Cortelyou was his only attendant for the period of about an hour and a half, and together they disposed of the papers at a rate that was perhaps never equaled by any of the previous twenty-five Presidents of the Republic. They were interrupted only four times during that hour and a half.

The four visitors were Senators Cullom and Proctor and Secretary Long, and Colonel Sanger, and President Roosevelt exhibited a desire to find out all about the Navy Department from Secretary Long. He was especially anxious to acquaint himself with the personnel of the officers who are now attached to the several bureaus of the department.

The Cabinet meeting began promptly at eleven o'clock, which has been the usual hour of meeting for many years past. The members of the Cabinet

took their places around the table according to the official order of precedence. President Roosevelt opened the Cabinet meeting by expressing gratitude for the conduct of the counselors of his predecessor in consenting to retain their portfolios. He said he knew that some of them had done so at a considerable personal sacrifice. The meeting lasted about an hour and a half. No important business was transacted.

Secretary Root said the Cuban constitutional convention had completed its work by framing an election law for the proposed independent government of the islands. The President expressed a desire to see, as soon as possible, Governor General Wood, who had arrived in Washington the night before, and discuss the law with him and Secretary Root. The law is subject to the approval of the President. Later, General Wood called at the White House and had a long chat with President Roosevelt, partly personal and partly official. These two men are bound together by strong ties of personal friendship. They joined their fortunes at the outset of the war with Spain, and together organized the regiment of Rough Riders that brought fame and political and professional preferment.

September 21st, President Roosevelt rode out with General Wood. The President's saddle horse was at Oyster Bay, and as there are no good riding animals in the White House stables, two cavalry horses were brought over from Fort Myer, across the Potomac; one a handsome, spirited bay, and the other a black. "The horses arrived at 3:45, and when it became noised about that the President was going for a ride a little coterie of spectators assembled on the portico of the Executive Mansion. At 3:55 o'clock a cab drove up and General Wood alighted. He wore stiff leather hunting leggings, and carried a short riding crop. He joined the President inside and at four o'clock they emerged. The President wore the same suit he had on all day, a black cutaway coat, with a band of mourning crepe on his left arm. The same soft felt hat was on his head. Tan riding gloves were on his hands. His trousers were buckled under his instep, and he wore at his heels small hunting spurs.

"As they paused at the main entrance, the horses were led under the porte cochere. The President at once advanced, and descended the steps to the side of the bay. Like an old horseman, he measured the stirrup length beneath his left arm. Then placing his left foot in the steel stirrup, he vaulted easily into the saddle.

"At the same time General Wood mounted the other horse, and in an instant they were off, cantering slowly down the west driveway. The President presented a handsome figure on his spirited animal. He had a fine seat, and handled his mount like the skilled and veteran horseman that he is. General Wood is also an excellent horseman.

"After leaving the White House grounds the President and General Wood rode out through the northwest section of the city. To those who saw them the sight brought memories of the great steps in the career of each since the early days of the Spanish War, when these two men, one President of the United States, and the other Governor General of Cuba, together organized the Rough Riders.

"The last President who rode horseback to any considerable extent since the days of Grant was Arthur. Neither Mr. Cleveland nor General Harrison while in the White House ever got on a horse. President McKinley in the early days of his first administration occasionally took a horseback ride, but he never mounted at the White House steps. He drove to the outskirts of the city, where a saddle horse was in waiting. Mr. McKinley, however, discontinued the practice after the first spring of his occupancy of the executive mansion."

General Wood left for Havana the next day.

Of course, President Roosevelt never failed to show the highest consideration for Mrs. McKinley, and did not in any way promote the removal of the personal property of his predecessor from the White House. On the 21st of September the last goods of the McKinley family were packed and shipped. The work of collecting, boxing and caring for these things was performed by trusted servants of the late President and Mrs. McKinley, under the supervision of Secretary Cortelyou and Colonel Bingham, Superintendent of Public Buildings and Grounds.

"Various boxes and pieces of furniture, of which there are a large number, were sent by express, addressed to Mrs. McKinley.

"President McKinley and his wife had only a little furniture of their own in the White House, all necessary articles of that sort being provided by the Government, but of clothing and bric-a-brac and various valuable souvenirs of McKinley's term in office there was an interesting collection.

"Some of the articles are of considerable intrinsic value, and among the number are at least a score or two dearly prized by Mrs. McKinley as mementos of her husband's great career, and as reminders of the loving esteem in which he was held by his people."

President Roosevelt took possession of the White House September 23rd, 1901. The flag on the House flies when the President is there. It was at half-mast when Roosevelt entered as President, and there was a double signal of the passing of a President and the coming of another. The official world in Washington does not accept a President as such until he actually comes into the White House. It was difficult for many people to realize the great change, because President Roosevelt had been living a half mile from the White House, and going backward and forward without guards or ceremony. September

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GIFTS TO CHARITY FROM MRS. ROOSEVELT

23rd, he moved in with his personal belongings, and the ordinary routine was re-established. He broke off work at the noon hour and took lunch with his two brothers-in-law, Commander Cowles and Douglas Robinson, and Private Secretary Loeb. This first official meal in the White House was extremely informal, and the time was largely taken up with the discussion of official matters.

In the evening President Roosevelt dined with Commander and Mrs. Cowles, Mr. and Mrs. Robinson, and Secretary Cortelyou. This dinner was a family affair, and except for the complete changes in the personages, was much a dinner as the President and Mrs. McKinley had been having day after day for years.

This was a trying night for President Roosevelt, because he spent it alone in the White House, save for the attendants, and his taking possession of the Executive Mansion could not fail to awaken memories which were extremely painful to all the attaches. Colonel Roosevelt himself was deeply affected at dinner time.

Mrs. Roosevelt arrived two days later.

"Among the conversations of President Roosevelt in the White House, in the first days of his official presence, three Southern Senators called at once and Senator Pritchard said, speaking for the Southern men: 'The Democratic newspapers are predicting good for you and of you, and the feeling of all the people for you, irrespective of party, is most kindly.'

"I am going to be President of the United States, and not any section," replied the President. 'I don't care for sections or sectional lines. When I was Governor of New York I was told I could make four appointments in the army. When I sent in the names, three were from the South, and the other from New York. They were brave men, who deserved recognition for services in the Spanish War, and it did not matter what states they were from.'"

The President talked in the same vein with Senator Money, of Mississippi, when the latter called, reminding the Mississippi Senator that his mother was a Southern woman.

"I am half Southern," said he, "and I have lived in the West, so that I think I can represent the whole country."

The less talk there is about shop at the President's luncheon, the stated time for which is half after one o'clock, the more he enjoys it, but he is by no means in a remote and inaccessible mood. He speaks with great freedom on whatever theme his guests are pleased to prefer. He is always interesting and sometimes enthusiastic. On the day of reading of his first message to the Congress, the President had with him ten friends, composed of Rough Rangers, Plainsmen, Cowboys, and Mighty Hunters from the mountains, two War Correspondents, a Confederate General and ex-Governor. Perhaps if

is not as often as it should be that the President enjoys himself quite as much as he did that day. If the luncheon party had been a legislative body, a quorum could have been formed of the men who fought with the Spaniards in the first of the combats near Santiago. The conversation, naturally, took a warlike turn. Appropriately, the Spanish name of the spot where the fighting occurred, signifies a "place of thorns." The Rough Riders seemed to have especially in mind the Mauser rifles of the Spaniards, and spoke very respectfully of them, accounting for the feeling of regard, saying that the way a Spaniard could fire the cartridges in the Mauser "clip" was such a marvel of rapidity, it was well their fire was not distinguished by accuracy.

There was much said of the lessons of war taught in our Spanish experience, and that of the English in South Africa. The President's information regarding the army seemed to be as complete as that of the Navy. It is of the same practical sort in respect to both arms. The Navy was studied by the Assistant Secretary of that Department, in an office. His army education was in the camp and on the field of battle. In each case he did the essential thing. He does not magnify himself. There are witnesses, however, who speak from the evidence of their senses. They do, as witnesses in courts are instructed, tell of their own knowledge, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Though the luncheon was so interesting, an old reporter knows enough to know when private conversation is exceedingly entertaining with information, the maxim of the ancients, that strength of statement means moderation in stating, is the better guide for publicists. There were little peculiarities about the President's luncheon. The "chile takin' notes" did so in his mind only. The President sympathized in private conversation, as President, as theretofore in public proclamation or formal address, with all that was tender, brave, truthful and generous; and opposed all that was pompous and mean. He left the impression deeper than ever, that in his exalted office, he will find the way to the front in the bold works of peace, as in heroic deeds of war, seize the vitalities of the situation and do the essentials, following his own precedents in the Legislature of his State, the National Conventions of his party, the Presidency of the New York Police Commission, the Civil Service Commission, the pulling the stroke oar in the Navy, thrusting himself and regiment as the head of the spear that penetrated the Spanish fortified lines, and employ the National energy to solve the problems before the great office. He has the will to do, and his head and hand and heart are strong and true.

The rigorous division of his time is an indispensable business method, and gives room for systematic pursuits in order. His out-door exercise is vigorous, whether he rides or walks. He is often seen walking with two of his sons at

a gait that causes the boys to move at a slashing trot. In this the three are plainly of one mind.

Luncheon over, a ride is the regular order. If there is a demand for something else for the President, that is conceded. "The horse knows his rider," and the rider knows the horse. Before taking his seat at the luncheon table, he gives orders for the afternoon, horses, carriages and all movements, whatever is to be, and the minutes are in the time table, so that everything is plain as to the occupation of time until the evening dinner.

There is to notice in the organization of the White House, that the President sees all that is going on. There is a map of everything in his head. Each day is a campaign. There is no negligence or disorder. The machinery moves smoothly. Mrs. Roosevelt is an active lady, whose housekeeping is in sympathy with the divisions of the President's time and duties. That Mrs. Roosevelt is a housekeeper, the House testifies.

It was notable at the luncheon, on the day of the message, that was being read at the time the President's hospitality was enjoyed, that not a word was said of the stirring document then listened to in Congress with a degree of attention hardly ever shown by the two Houses, and going by wires beyond the seas, to be applauded by the civilization of Christendom. The President was not at all preoccupied with the splendid public paper he had delivered, but intent only on recollections, revived by his comrades, and the duties to come.

There were many times of trial for President Roosevelt between the dismal moment when he met the messenger who announced the death of President McKinley, and the reception of the people, as custom commanded, on New Year's day. The first was the long, lonely ride to Buffalo, spent in deep thoughtfulness, that prepared him for action. He knew when he looked upon the face of his murdered predecessor what his policy was to be, and so anticipated the anxious conclusions reached by his friends, some of whom telegraphed him good advice with good wishes and learned that his action had preceded their thoughtfulness. The solemnity of the oath of office was in order of events that deeply impressed. Then followed the funeral train to Washington, and the tomb at Canton; then the White House where he had a silent supper and a night alone.

All the time he was troubled with alarms of those who thought he should be surrounded with guards. His first day in the White House as President, he walked unattended to lunch with the Secretary of State; and then came wife and children, who made the chill house a home, and their voices were welcomed to dispel the gloom that burdened the air.

The little folks were made happy on Christmas, but there was no Christmas tree or festivity but that of the charm of the infantile adoration of Santa Claus.

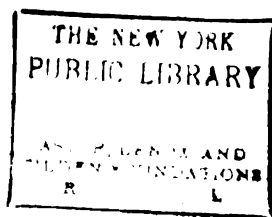
Mr. and Mrs. McKinley remembered always, bereft of their children, the glad young faces that came, and gave them some consolation in their sadness.

Before the New Year's reception, the President had made it understood that he must not be snapped at with batteries of cameras; that his walk was too rapid to encourage conversation; that his best recreation was on horse-back, and that he preferred a lively horse; that he kept days and hours, gained time to do an enormous amount of work, but was a man of minutes, losing none of them; that he made luncheon a function, and kept his time table, not with ostentation, but with a habit of activity at once peremptory and polite.

A Cornell student says that nearly twenty years ago, the President being then twenty-three years old, in a lecture room President Andrew D. White, Minister to Germany, in a lecture on Modern European Society, said: "Young gentlemen, some of you will enter public life. I call your attention to Theodore Roosevelt, now in our Legislature. He is on the right road to success. It is dangerous to predict a future for a young man, but let me say that if any man of his age was ever pointed straight for Presidency that man is Theodore Roosevelt."

The verification of the prediction is remarkable because so specific, but it is to be said if Roosevelt had been in special training for the Presidency since he was a small boy, he could not have put in his time to better advantage. The indications are, he was much less an aspirant for the great office than the average citizen, for he is amazed to find himself where he is. He presumed that his freedom of speech and horror of the diplomacy of public life that touches upon prevarication, must cause his speech to stir enmities, and array the organizers of popular forces against him.

The attractiveness of the personalities of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt were manifested on New Year's day by the multitude that paid their respects. There was much curiosity to meet the President and his wife, and as to the reception that would be given General Miles and Admiral Dewey. This, in part, grew out of a misunderstanding of the President's position respecting the Santiago controversy; and the interview he had with General Miles, following one the General had with a reporter on the attitude of Admiral Dewey touching Admiral Schley. For a long time the General had a theory that he was "not less a citizen because a soldier," a fine phrase but not approved by high military authority, when there is Department politics in controversy. The President was positive in disapproval of words of General Miles about a "co-ordinate branch of the Government," and Miles seemed to have considered that his coincidence with Dewey gave him correct alignment with the Navy; and also was of that opinion that he was limiting language of objection





QUENTIN ROOSEVELT



KERMIT ROOSEVELT

to the insolent falsehood of those who had assailed Admiral Schley in terms of opprobrium.

The Lieutenant General was received by the President with the respect due his rank, but no augmentation of the incident. Mrs. Roosevelt's greeting was, in a marked degree, cordial, to the General and the Admiral. She has the happy art of aptness. The press performed its part with impartiality, some saying the manner of the President was "forbidding," and others that he welcomed the heroic chieftains with "effusion." There is ample room to make choice.

All efforts to persuade the President to be guarded from possible anarchists were failures. Mrs. Roosevelt on this, as other occasions of public duty calling for her appearance, has made an exceedingly agreeable impression. She is a model of devotion as wife and mother, tactful and of the highest intelligence, active and painstaking, with a pleasant way of doing and saying that which is cleverly appropriate. Her spirited vivacity is tempered by her kindly consideration and gentle sympathy.

The appearance of the President's elder daughter in society was as simple in the appointments as if her father had been without official rank. The family life has the dignity of the avoidance of all pretension. The household has the soft illumination of unity and love. The order is perfect. There is no strife of variety or friction of display. The pathetic figure of Mrs. McKinley mourning for her children, and as a child in her broken health, but strong in her tenderness and sustained by the constant, affectionate care of her husband, will be long remembered as of saintly character. Her beauty, delicacy and grace will live forever in the stories of the tragedies of the White House, whose walls have witnessed, of the twenty elected Presidents, five who died in office, on the way to the graves at the end of the paths of glory.

The presence of the youngest of the Presidents, and the wife and children at home, comes to the people who are grateful that out of the gloom, that has overshadowed millions of firesides, there comes to the White House, with the President, a household representative of countless homes, the citadels of the Nation, and that the President's boys and girls play childhood's pretty games in the historic corridors.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PRESIDENT TAKES THE RESPONSIBILITY.

His Rapid and Rugged Style—Goes Right at His Work—Makes Frontal Attacks—Precedents of Public Policy as Governor of New York Have Application to All the States—Secretary Long's Appreciation—Square Dealings with the People, Poor and Rich—There Is No Safety in Hiding or Running—The Final Responsibility for Reciprocity—Our Cuban Policy and the President's Ambition and Ideality.

WHILE Governor of New York, President Roosevelt was even for him extraordinarily outspoken in reference to all matters of moment to the people. He searched the State for "problems," found them in abundance and exercised as great freedom of speech as if free from responsibility, though the most responsible man in the State, and constantly talked of as a candidate for President when he had reached a suitable age, which, as he was a child in arms when Lincoln was elected, he was not supposed to have attained in his early forties. President Grant was, when inaugurated, forty-seven years old, younger by one year than Pierce, and by two years than Garfield, when they reached the summit of American ambition.

The election of Roosevelt after McKinley's second term would have placed him in office at the same age Grant took up the command in chief of the Army and Navy. It was not presumed there could be a precedent that in the first year of the century would seat a President whose earliest personal recollection of the great war that took place in his infancy, could not date back beyond the closing scenes of Appomattox, where the conduct of the brave men on both sides made the treaty of peace that was well understood, though unwritten save in a military memorandum. There was that in the action of the Southern armies that made surrender glorious. There never was in American history proof more conclusive of the capacity of our people for self-government, than that when the Confederate forces disbanded, it was written for us, the sword should not devour forever.

President Roosevelt's term as Governor was a preliminary course that was most instructive to himself, and promises invaluable service to the country. There is an outspoken earnestness in his official productions that is unlike anything we have had from a public man. It has been the tradition, substantially the law of the land, that in high places there must be reserve—a cautious

weighing of words, an intent measuring of the consequences of acts upon the propriety that is all potential. The platforms of the political parties that believe in the possibility that they may come into power, have been laboriously constructed, that the refinements of interpretation should remove controversial ruggedness, and gather, perhaps it is fair to say, the unearned increments of the manhood suffrage, that obtains in theory and is recorded in constitutional law, but lost in the intricacies of administration, in our system of leaving to localities the determination of many knotty entanglements, in the supreme court of immediate public opinion.

No event we can reasonably consider, within range of probability, or possibility, would signal more wonderful work than that of the success of President Roosevelt in gaining approval of the bold course of a brave man in telling the people the whole case as he understands it, standing or falling with the truth. The public papers of Theodore Roosevelt are treasures for those who study his character, and calculate or conjecture what the result is to be of this stalwart manhood that asserts itself, not with the slow advances of zig-zag approaches, but by frontal attack with banners officers to the front in full uniform, and presenting a fair mark for the sharp shooters of toes. The British Bull Dog Generals did not win at this game in South Africa, and had to call an old tactician to take advantage of the lay of the land, and not scorn cover under fire from invisible riflemen; but the Rough Riders did win in that very way with straightforward rushes in the thorny thickets of Cuba.

The strong hand and positive purpose with which President Roosevelt takes hold of a public abuse and nuisance, yields many examples in his administration of the State of New York. One in reference to a part of the country familiar to millions of our people is for that reason of unusual interest. There was a complaint about the nuisance in Saratoga Lake. The principal inlet of the lake is Kayaderosseras Creek, which flows through the village of Ballston Spa to the lake, and several brooklets flow into it near the Spa, and the sewers and drainage of the village carried by it. Banks of the creek and tributaries are largely occupied by manufacturing plants, productive of paper, sulphite pulp used in tanning leather, and the refuse goes into the creek, which is an open sewer from Ballston Spa to the lake. There is a tannery, whose yearly output is one and three-quarters of a million dollars, where an immense quantity of hides are handled, that go through what is called a depilatory condition. Next are put into barked liquor, a large quantity of the water containing salt and lime water, neutralized by lactic acid, and the tanning liquors, all discharged, highly colored, into the creek. There are many additional specifications of the items of the nuisance thus created. One relates to a paper mill, where from a hundred and fifty to two hundred cords of wood are ground up each week, treated with hot sulphurous acid and other chemicals,

which subdue the resin and vegetable nature of the wood, that is further treated with chloride of lime—three hundred pounds of sulphur used for the manufacture of a ton of the pulp. This goes into the creek. The Governor uses the names of the companies engaged in this profitable work, seems to be correctly informed as to the amount of their capital stock, states that the water of the creek, after acting as the solvent in the chemical processes, finds its way back into the stream, "carrying in solution acids, alkalis, organic and inorganic matter, in such large quantities that a decidedly acid reaction can be detected four miles down the stream." And these acids and alkalis, coming in contact with large quantities of sewerage, hasten chemical action and fermentation, generating gases and offensive odors, "often producing nausea;" and into the same creek is discharged the drainage of Saratoga Springs. The shores of the lake are lined with cottages and hotels, and the Governor touched this up by saying that those most bitterly complaining about the pollution of the lake, "seemed to forget the ancient rule established in Jerusalem that each person should sweep before his own door." Fish are killed by contamination with the water and ferment and decay "producing stench more or less offensive, according to the customs and habits of those obliged to inhale them."

The waters of this creek and Saratoga Lake "are not directly used for potable purposes, but ultimately find their way into the Hudson river. And many other of the waters of the State, fresh and pure twenty-five or fifty years ago, have come to be open sewers, 'transmitting disease germs from one place to another.'"

The State Board of Health co-operated with the Governor, who declared that after July 1st, 1899, there should be a sweeping change along the shore of the lake, and the streams tributary thereto, and that no "raw sewerage" should be discharged into the lake or streams tributary, and that the villages of Saratoga and Ballston Springs and Ballston Spa, should provide works for the sanitary treatment of the nuisance they produced. The great tannery on Gordon Creek was declared a nuisance, and the firm ordered to abate it.

The language of the Governor was as follows: "That the discharge of effluent and waste material from the paper and sulphite mills"—the names and locations of the establishments given—were a nuisance to be abated on or before April 1st, 1900; and this, according to process, to be approved by the State Board of Health.

There has been widespread discussion abroad, as well as at home, about the public character of President Roosevelt, and the usual Americans who wish to enlighten Europe when there is a crisis in our country, have appeared in the usual way in the London newspapers.



GOV. ROOSEVELT AND MAJ.-GENL. ROE MARCHING IN FRONT OF 22ND REGIMENT
FROM STATE ENCAMPMENT

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The respect in which President McKinley was held in Europe developed after the assassination in all the journals, and in the utterances of public men of merit and moment, without exception. Occasionally there was a reflection of the vindictiveness of the belittlers of our country by some of our citizens who find their greatest relief from sorrow in the indulgence of their own vain conceits of virtue. President Roosevelt seems to have encountered a share of this distrustful comment. It was touched up broad with the folly of excessive self appreciation attended with public indifference.

In an English journal, within a few days of the death of McKinley, there appeared a volunteered American production, in which the producer claimed that he was well acquainted "with the new President" and called him a "demagogue." There was compensation for this intrusion of an impertinence in a reply from an American gentleman—once a Democratic Congressman—Hon. W. M. Beckner, in the London Times of October 7th, saying of the charge of "demagogy:" "If it is meant to say Mr. Roosevelt is one who seeks popular favor at the expense of honest conviction, it is a very unjust characterization. The quality which, above all others, makes Theodore Roosevelt the strongest individuality in America to-day, is his absolute sincerity in dealing with public questions and his unfeigned indifference to what others may think or say with regard to his course in discharging his official duties. He is the personification of courage, truth and manliness, and is a clean, straight man in all the relations of life. When he was President of the Board of Police Commissioners of New York City, he compelled a strict enforcement of the excise and other laws, and this incurred the bitter enmity of the element that controlled votes. When the Spanish War came on, and his regiment was filled so promptly by the best fighting material in the States, he asked the President to appoint to its command an unknown assistant surgeon in the army who had had experience as a soldier, and whose talents and ability he had learned to appreciate. He took a subordinate place himself, but his judgment had been confirmed by the fact that his selection is now a major-general and the able and accomplished Military Governor of Cuba. These were not the acts of a demagogue, but of a faithful and patriotic citizen, who preferred the public good to his own selfish interests. He despises all trickery and sham, and is strong enough to lead without resorting to any base or unworthy practices. My testimony is not that of a partizan—I know the President personally, but we were trained in different political schools. Whilst he was a Republican member of the Civil Service Commission at Washington, I was a Democratic Congressman. He believes in party organization as a means of carrying out the principles which he thinks should be observed in administering the Government, but has never been narrow or bitter in dealing with political opponents. He is the first President we have had in forty years

whose views are uncolored by personal experiences or observation during the Civil War, and is emphatically the product of a new era in American politics. He did not want the nomination for the Vice-Presidency last year, as he had his heart set on seeing completed work which he had begun as Governor of New York. He is hampered by no pledges, has no especial favorites to reward or enemies to punish, and is controlled by no clique or ring or boss. He has been a voluminous writer, but has dealt with no theories, and is therefore committed to no peculiar politics. In writing the history of the Winning of the West, or of your Cromwell, or of his own Rough Riders, or of his hunting adventures, he has always dealt with action. He has never been a dreamer or a poet or a philosopher, but an earnest, practical man of affairs, who takes the world as it is and tries to make it better by what he does and not by what he preaches. I have several times seen it stated that because the family whose name he bears came from Holland he may take sides with the Boers against England. This will not be given much consideration when it is known that his ancestors were three-fourths British and not exceeding one-fourth Dutch, and that he is altogether American. Nor is he a man to forget how generously Great Britain treated his country during the Spanish War, in which he bore so heroic a part. He has enough of care and responsibility as chief executive of the United States without interfering in any respect with the affairs of other countries."

It will be remembered that Secretary Long, called by President Roosevelt when Assistant Secretary of the Navy his Chief, was under consideration at Philadelphia in June, 1900, as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and would have been more prominent if there had not been a demand that could not be checked or diverted by Roosevelt.

The New York Independent of September 6th succeeding the convention, contained an article from Secretary Long, on the character of the nominee for the Vice-Presidency, that is a reminder of their relations in 1884. The Secretary said of his promoted Assistant:

"Theodore Roosevelt is one of the interesting personalities of our day and generation. He is a picturesque figure, and was so before the Rough Rider uniform and hat existed, and would be even if he had never worn them. A puny child, whose health was despaired of, he grew to be a stalwart athlete. Within him was a vital spark that has flamed into perfect physical vigor. His characteristic is force. This is the central quality. But with this are an honest mind, right motives, readiness and directness in speech, frankness and courage, and high ideals of public and private duty and service. It could not be otherwise than that such a man should not only fill the popular eye, but command the popular favor. The people like a bold man, a square man, a strong man, and they know instinctively that he is all these.

"But this is not all. A man might have all these qualities and yet fail under the test of actual performance. But Roosevelt has been legislator, police commissioner of the great City of New York, United States Civil Service Commissioner, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, commander of a regiment in battle, and Governor of the Empire State. In all these positions—covering an unusual variety of service and testing the practical capacity and ability of their holder—he has made his mark.

"Then, too, his life and career cover a great variety of the phases of our national life, and identify him with all classes of the people. He was born of a good well-to-do family of Dutch stock in New York; he was a student at Harvard; he lived on a ranch in the far West; he has run the courses of local, State and National politics; he has consorted with the refinements of the city and taken the rough and tumble of the frontier. Everybody knows him. Every college boy swears by him. Every cow boy ties to him. Every soldier and sailor counts him a friend. The policemen who served under him know that he was as just to their deserts as he was relentless to their faults. The citizen, who prays for good government and honest politics, relies on him for both. It may be that now and then some overzealous reformer, whose sole idea of reform is to kill the Republican party because it does not lay a nestful of golden eggs, 'every day in the hour,' has been unable to forgive him, because he will not desert it; but his very bitterness is really the highest tribute to his ideals and performance.

"He therefore comes to the candidacy for the Vice-Presidency not only well equipped for the high place, but specially qualified to add strength to the ticket. It was because it was universally recognized that this would be the effect that his nomination was spontaneous. While the office is one to which his active tendencies would not ordinarily incline him, there seems to be at this time no other in the candidacy for which he can render so much service to the Republican party. Young, irrepressible and with an honorable ambition, it is pleasant to think that long years are before him in which he can not fail with his strong character and ability to be a great part in the growth, beneficence and history of his country."

The President accepts the responsibility, and appoints men for better reason than paying the political debts of members of Congress. He ignores the question of color, on behalf of one of the most honorable, able and useful of American citizens. He does not refuse to appoint the son of a laboring man or of a billionaire. He has use for all sorts of people who are industrious and honest, faithful and, according to their means, frugal.

No amount of education or combination, said Roosevelt as Governor, could supply the lack of individual energy, honesty, thrift and industry. The development in the extent of variety of industries had necessitated legislation

in the interests of labor. The Governor touched all the questions of special interest in this association, saying "the law regulating the hours of labor of minors, under fourteen years of age, and of women employed in working for establishments, and the sanitary condition of stores and buildings, would, if the city government failed to furnish appropriation, and to appoint the necessary officers to carry out the law, be practically a dead letter as it was in the City of New York." The law, the Governor said, regulating the hours of labor, on surface railroads was an excellent provision against the tendency to work men too many hours; but the enforcement of this law was left to the railroad commissioners, and they had no active force to use for such a purpose. Therefore, the law failed by default, except when prosecution was undertaken by individuals, for the employee would not complain for fear of being discharged.

An important phase of this subject of sanitary conditions, the Governor said, was found in the "sweat shop" system, which was practically the conversion of the poorest class of living apartments into unwholesome pest creating and crime-breeding workshops. The "most effective and uninquisitive" cure for this was a Massachusetts law, providing that buildings used for manufacturing should be licensed only on condition that the building should fulfill the requirements of the law for manufacturing purposes.

The New York politicians, who sought to raise the strife among "classes," and had faith the poor men would always be revolutionists as against the rich, and war on property in large accumulations, called Roosevelt when he appeared at Albany an Assemblyman, a "silk stocking," and a "dude," until he knocked some of them down; but one of his early onslaughts was for the abolishment of "sweat shops," whose pestilence was cultivated, and one of his scathing phrases was "the guilty rich." He demanded wholesome workshops, and caused their betterment. At the same time, he protected the rights of property; and we quote his remarks:

"As a rule the man who is the loudest denouncer of corporate wealth—spelling "corporate" with a large "C" and "wealth" with a large "W"—and who is most inflammable in his insistence, in public, that he will not permit the liberties of the country to be subverted by the men of means, is himself the very man for whom you want to look out most sharply when there comes up something which some corrupt corporation does really want, and about which there is not any great popular excitement at the moment.

"On the one hand we have the perfectly simple savage, who believes that you should tax franchises to the extent of confiscating them, and that it is the duty of all railroad corporations to carry everybody free and give him a chromo.

"On the other, we have the scarcely less primitive mortal, who believes that there is something sacred in a franchise and that there is no reason why it should pay its share of the public burdens at all.

"The rich man who buys a privilege from a board of aldermen for a railway which he represents, the rich man who gets a privilege through the Legislature by bribery and corruption, for any corporation, is committing an offense against the community, which it is possible may some day have to be condoned in blood and destruction, not by him, not by his sons, but by you and your sons."

Those who have sought to grapple with the syndicates of corruption, and found the task not hopeless nor endless, will find in this passage from the President's writings evidence of his public spirit, sagacity and sincerity:

"From an armor plant to a street railway, no work which is really beneficial to the public can be performed to the best advantage of the public save by men of such business capacity that they will not do the work unless they themselves receive ample reward for doing it. The effort to deprive them of an ample reward, merely means that they will turn their energies in some other direction, and the public will be by just so much the loser. Moreover to tax corporations or men of means in such a way as to drive them out of the State works great damage to the State. To drive out of a community the men of means and the men who take the lead in business enterprises, would probably entail, as one of its first results, the starvation of a considerable portion of the remainder of the population. But while I freely admit all this, it remains true that a corporation which derives its powers from the State, should pay to the State a just percentage of its earnings as a return for the privileges it enjoys. This should be especially true for the franchises bestowed upon gas companies, street railroads and the like. The question of the municipal ownership of these franchises can not be raised with propriety until the governments of all municipalities show greater wisdom and virtue than has been recently shown, for instance, in New York City; and the question of allaying and assessing the tax for franchises of every kind throughout the State should, in my opinion, be determined by the State itself. I need not point out to you that in foreign communities a very large percentage of the taxes comes from corporations which use the public domain for pipes, tracks and the like. Whether these franchises should be taxed as realty, or whether it would be wiser to provide that, after the gross earnings equal, say, ten per cent of the actual original cost, then five per cent of all the gross earnings over and above this shall be paid into the city treasury; or whether some yet different plan should be tried, can only be settled after careful examination of the whole subject. One thing is certain, that the franchises should in some form yield a monied return to the Government. To put on a tax here and there as new franchises are asked for

may be advisable, but of course is inequitable, to the extent that it handicaps the few thus taxed in their competition with the untaxed corporations."

A man who faces the truth as President Roosevelt does, in all cases, is a man who in the highest degree accepts responsibility. He holds that the only line of conduct a public man can take is the straight line forward of duty, for there is no evasion of snap shots when leaden hail is flying; and he gives his personal experience of a happening under fire:

"A curious incident happened as I was getting the men started forward. Always when men have been lying down under cover for some time, and are required to advance, there is a little hesitation, each looking to see whether the others are going forward. As I rode down the line, calling to the troopers to go forward, and rasping brief directions to the captains and lieutenants, I came upon a man lying behind a little bush, and I ordered him to jump up. I do not think that he understood that we were making a forward move, and he looked up at me for a moment with hesitation, and I again bade him rise, jeering him and saying: 'Are you afraid to stand up when I am on horseback?' As I spoke, he suddenly fell forward on his face, a bullet having struck him and gone through him lengthwise. I suppose the bullet had been aimed at me; at any rate, I, who was on horseback in the open, was unhurt, and the man lying flat on the ground in the cover beside me was killed."

There is the same high authority for this:

"We were talking of the curious angles bullets sometimes fly off at when they ricochet. To illustrate the matter he related an experience which I shall try to give in his own words: 'One time when I was keeping a saloon down in New Mexico, there was a man owed me a grudge. Well, he took sick of the smallpox, and the doctor told him he'd sure die, and he said if that was so he reckoned he'd kill me first. So he come a-riding in with his gun and begun shooting; but I hit him first and away he rode. I started to get on my horse to follow him; but there was a little Irishman there who said he'd never killed a man, and he begged hard for me to give him my gun and let him go after the other man and finish him. So I let him go, and when he caught up, blamed if the little cuss didn't get so nervous that he fired off into the ground, and the darned bullet struck a crowbar and glanced up and hit the other man square in the head and killed him! Now, that was a funny shot, wasn't it?'"

Perhaps the most difficult of the Presidential responsibilities is in the questions arising from the system of protection of our industries, in agriculture and manufactures, and our natural resources. The balance of trade and the new possessions increase the complex nature of that which we seek to accomplish. All interests are touched. If there is a balance of trade in our favor of six hundred millions a year, how is that sum paid? A great part of it is settled by undervaluations of importations. We pay a great sum for foreign goods not

taxed, and this reduces the surplus in our favor. It is estimated Americans spend a hundred millions a year in Europe—more than Europeans spend with us—and seventy-five millions for American freights in foreign lines of steamers. There is an unknown but very large sum paid in purchasing our securities held abroad; that is, we are taking up our notes held abroad. This leaves a great margin still, and how much it is or how it is paid has not been closely calculated. How are Europe, and presently Asia, to pay what they owe us when the trade balance is ascertained? We might do better than to take the whole balance in gold. We have not ascertained all the items of the amount with authority; and there is a good illustration in what Mr. Pierpont Morgan said when asked why he did not talk for publication. Said the great financier, "While a great operation is still incomplete, it is never safe to talk about it, and when it is all settled, there's not much to say."

The need for reciprocity to sustain protection through coming changes inevitable in our condition, was apparent last year to President McKinley. He will hardly be suspected of unfaithfulness to the principle of protection. Vice-President Roosevelt had the same comprehension that President McKinley had. There is great trouble as to the islands we have acquired, and those for the destiny of whose people we are responsible, not on account of the poverty of the land gained in various forms, but on account of their riches. Shall we reject sugar lands because they are richer than ours? Shall a few people who handle a great deal of sugar, manage the settlement of this question, or shall the majority do it? We must have a care to prevent the damage of protection under which we have prospered, by the insistence that the consumers must be compelled to pay higher prices for sugar and tobacco, because our sugar land is not as good as that near our doors. We must pursue the principle of protection on its popular side, and not for the few. President Roosevelt takes the responsibility of applying reciprocity, maintaining unbroken the policy of McKinley in his farewell address. However, if Cuba wants to be with us, the part of wisdom would be to propose to become a State, and pay her share of taxes. If she shares with our burdens, she should partake of our privileges. There would be sugar interests, however, if the Cubans were unanimously in favor of becoming citizens of the United States, opposed to her annexation.

The sugar trust would, undoubtedly, prefer to have the sugar consumers situated so as to select between inferior sugars and higher prices. The Standard oil managers could, if the question of the annexation of Texas was before the country, oppose her admission, on account of the discoveries of oil. If the people at large would have the benefit of great aggregations of capital, that world-wide enterprises may be conducted by Americans, without going in debt to Europe, they should include in expansion the lands richest in resources.

No one has yet objected to more corn land, because corn bread is so nourishing it competes with wheat and grows 100 bushels to the acre.

The President's attitude toward Cuba is to be liberal in aid of Cubans, but in such form as not to conflict directly with any of our farming or manufacturing interests.

The logical consequence would be the annexation of Cuba, when the experiment of independence had demonstrated that the welfare of the people would be consulted by the great American islands becoming an integral part of the Greater American power. That which appears is that we of the United States, as well as the Cubans, need more of the teaching of experience, as well as the people of Cuba require it, that we may be broadened in views of self-government, and not merely consent to, but command, the rule of the majority for the majority.

The President's policy, and we find him as always without reservations from the people, is against Chinese exclusiveness, unites reciprocity with protection, believes in strong combinations and not in ruthless monopolies, and holds the flag in its lofty place in history—"full high advanced," for our one country is big enough for the country Webster saw and Benton prophesied, the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian expansion, and the union of the excellencies of the old Whig and Democratic parties, Clay and Lincoln, Polk and McKinley, hand in hand.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PRESIDENT'S FIRST MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

A Paper That Would Alone Give Its Author a Foremost Place among Public Men—One That Has Seldom Been Equaled, and Never Surpassed, in the Information It Contains, and the Ability with Which It Is Stated—The Courage of Conviction—The Wealth of Suggestion and Recommendation, and the Brilliancy of Literary Execution.

A WASHINGTON letter of December 5th, 1901, that has had weight in the official circles of Europe, states concisely and precisely the home view of the immense message that distinguished the day. We quote these lines:

"The first thing to be said about the President's Message is that it is the President's Message. It is his in an unusual sense. The custom has been that heads of departments should write each that portion of the Message dealing with the affairs of his own department. These contributions have been incorporated in the document to which the President has signed his name. That is so no longer. The Message has been individualized. On the whole of it is the impress of the President's personality, and how strong that is people on both sides of the Atlantic are beginning to understand. The President is also beginning to understand. He has found his feet."

The President's Message is, in effect, a programme which he asks Congress to adopt and the country to approve. By it he elects to stand or fall. It is his confession of faith, a declaration of his considered policy, the expression of views which he thinks not only ought to be adopted, but have a fair chance of being adopted. No President would put forth merely pious opinions or academic policies. The purpose of the Message is practical and legislative.

The President's Message, communicated to the two Houses of Congress at the beginning of the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, referred in the first sentence to the assembly of the representatives of the people and the States, "under the shadow of a great calamity." The sternly true statement followed that President McKinley had been "shot by an anarchist," and died. What the President said of his predecessor was heard with profound approval, not only by all Americans not degenerates, but by all enlightened people of this generation of the inhabitants of the earth. The President expressed the

public sense of loss, with a simplicity most appropriate to state the irreparable disaster of a crime hardly conceivable, and that touched all hearts with elevated emotion, and blended bereavement with consolation, befitting the civilization stricken, and Christianity assailed.

There is an august precedent, when the death of a President occurs, that the Senate shall address his successor, in words of sympathy, condolence, and celebration of the beneficent character of the Departed. When George Washington died, the Senate addressed John Adams, and received from him a reply. These venerable papers should reappear in the school books, for they are the shining pillars that adorn and are stately in the temple that is sacred to the literature that gives proof of, and permanence to our patriotism.

“To the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.

“THE Senate of the United States respectfully take leave, sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country has sustained in the death of General George Washington.—This event so distressing to all our fellow-citizens must be peculiarly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours on this occasion; it is manly to weep. To lose such a man at such a crisis is no common calamity to the world; our country mourns her Father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest Benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to Him who “maketh darkness his Pavilion.”

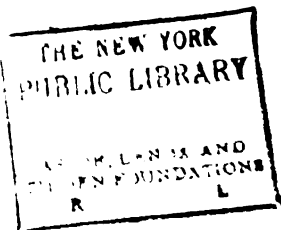
“With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied, but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtue. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory. The scenes closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has traveled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honor; he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favored of Heaven he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

“Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in Heaven.

“Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic General, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous Sage; let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors and his examples are their inheritance.



**LIBRARY OF THE WILCOX RESIDENCE AT BUFFALO, WHEREIN
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE**



PRESIDENT'S ANSWER:

"Gentlemen of the Senate:

"I receive with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret, for the loss our Country has sustained in the death of her most esteemed, beloved and admired Citizen.

"In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me only to say, that I have seen him in the days of adversity in some of the scenes of his deepest and most trying perplexities; I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation and constancy.

"Among all our original associates, in the memorable League of the Continent in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a Free Nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the General Government. Although, with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother; yet I derive strong consolation from the Unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes, to mingle their sorrows with mine, on this common calamity to the world.

"The life of our WASHINGTON cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries, who have been most celebrated and exalted by Fame. The attributes and decorations of Royalty could only have served to eclipse the Majesty of those virtues, which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds, who, believing that *characters and actions are marked by success alone*, rarely deserve to enjoy it. *Malice* could never *blast his honor*, and *Envy* made him a singular exception to her universal rule.—For himself he had lived enough, to life and to glory. For his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal. For me, his departure is a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over passions of men, and the result of their councils and actions, as well as over their Lives, nothing remains for me but humble resignation.

"His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to Magistrates, Citizens and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want Biographers, Eulogists or Historians.

United States, }
Dec. 22, 1799. }

"JOHN ADAMS."

The loftiest tribute that can be paid the splendor and glory of these memorial papers, that their beauty, truth and grandeur make imperishable, is that they were worthy the mournful elevation of the occasion. It is unknown who again "shall lift the wand of magic power and the lost clue regain," that the Senate and John Adams wielded in another century, but the "unfinished window of Aladdin's Tower" will not "unfinished remain." Memorial windows in old capitals, whose foundations are yet to be laid, will be illuminated with the story of William McKinley, by the genius of his countrymen, placing for everlasting commemoration, above even the service of his statesmanship, his true love for humanity. Already his successor has addressed a communication to Congress, destined to live in letters fairer than gold, when the pomp of power has passed away, and inscriptions carved in marble or cast in brass have perished, if the phrases of the praise they record are official only. The ink in which the inspiration of the heart is penned, if it tells of loving kindness and the sacrifices of affection, makes parchment immortal; and paper holds faster the truth, than the rocks that iron engraves, and the lost tales the Pyramids were built in vain to tell are saved in the papyrus that outlasted the tombs.

The Message of the President was sent to Congress in print. The two copies for the two houses were printed on paper of the same size as that used heretofore for the written copies, though the paper is a heavy white instead of the blue tint which has been in use. Each copy was richly bound in brown morocco, with stiff covers, with simple gold border and lettering, the words on the front being, "Message of the President of the United States."

After the reading of the Message, Mr. Foraker, the senior Senator from Ohio, presented the following resolution, for which he asked immediate consideration:

"That a committee of eleven Senators be appointed on the part of the Senate to join such committee as shall be appointed on the part of the House to consider and report by what token of respect and affection it may be proper for the Congress of the United States to express the deep sensibility of the nation to the tragic death of the late President, William McKinley, and that so much of the Message of the President as relates to that deplorable event be referred to such committee."

The resolution was adopted, and then, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late President, the Senate, on motion of Mr. Foraker, adjourned.

In the House on motion of Mr. Grosvenor, that portion of the Message relating to the death of the late President was referred to a committee, to consist of one member from each State and Territory, to join a similar committee of the Senate, to consider and report by what token of respect and affection it may be proper for Congress to express the deep sensibility of the nation to the tragic death of the late President.

It does not seem, from anything in the President's Message, that the issue called "imperialism" is to be given a fresh start or that preposterous imagination accepted as a serious contention. At any rate, there is no purpose in sight to increase the magnitude of the Army and there is no manifestation of alarm that we are below the European standard in numbers of armed men. The President finds promises of peace, saving to "intelligent regard for the rights of others, which will in the end, as we hope and believe, make world wide peace possible. The peace conference at The Hague gave definite expression to this hope and belief and marked a stride toward their attainment. This same peace conference acquiesced in our statement of the Monroe Doctrine as compatible with the purposes and aims of the conference."

That which is said of the Monroe Doctrine is not put offensively but in plainer terms than have been familiar. He says:

"Just seventy-eight years have passed since President Monroe in his Annual Message announced that 'The American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.' In other words the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is in no wise intended as hostile to any Nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one New World power at the expense of any other. It is simply a step, and a long step, toward assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere.

"During the past century other influences have established the permanence and independence of the smaller states of Europe. Through the Monroe Doctrine we hope to be able to safeguard like independence and secure like permanence for the lesser among the New World Nations.

"This doctrine has nothing to do with the commercial relations of any American power, save that it in truth allows each of them to form such as it desires. In other words, it is really a guaranty of the commercial independence of the Americas. We do not ask under this doctrine for any exclusive commercial dealings with any other American State. We do not guarantee any State against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power.

"Our attitude in Cuba is a sufficient guaranty of our own good faith. We have not the slightest desire to secure any territory at the expense of any of our neighbors. We wish to work with them hand in hand, so that all of us may be uplifted together, and we rejoice over the good fortune of any of them, we gladly hail their material prosperity and political stability, and are concerned and alarmed if any of them fall into industrial or political chaos. We do not

wish to see any Old World military power grow up on this continent, or to be compelled to become a military power ourselves. The peoples of the Americas can prosper best if left to work out their own salvation in their own way."

In this the steady hand of the President, when he aims at the centre of the mark, is distinct. The matter is firm, the form of it respectful to others, the common sense of it plain, and the utility presented in a winning way. There is no swagger here, above all, no suggestion of fighting Europe in Asia on the ground that we are preparing to cover the face of the earth, Asia and Africa included, with the Monroe Doctrine. That formidable purpose was aired in 1900, by public leaders against the McKinley Administration.

If President Roosevelt had proposed to yield our title to the Philippines to any person, faction or tribe in the island, and called the colonization of one or more of the thousand islands, "provoking us to war," he would not have been able to open his remarks about the Army with the satisfactory sentence, "It is not necessary to increase our Army beyond its present size at this time." There is need, however, that the Army should be "kept at the highest point of efficiency," which means that the people provide for a good article, and are entitled to it. We know, from the President's writings about the Cuban war, in his opinion one regiment, in good form and equipped with our magazine rifle, and drilled to a good standard, is equal to three armed and inadequately supplied, black powder and all; as many of those who were sent to Cuba found when they landed and rushed to crush the Spaniards before the yellow fever should help defend the red and yellow flag of Spain.

In discussing the military situation, the President puts in a lesson of wisdom, that is plainly a matter of personal experience. He says:

"The individual units who as officers and enlisted men compose this Army, are, we have good reason to believe, at least as efficient as those of any other army in the entire world. It is our duty to see that their training is of a kind to insure the highest possible expression of power to these units when acting in combination.

"The conditions of modern war are such as to make an infinitely heavier demand than ever before upon the individual character and capacity of the officer and the enlisted man, and to make it far more difficult for men to act together with effect. At present the fighting must be done in extended order, which means that each man must act for himself and at the same time act in combination with others with whom he is no longer in the old-fashioned elbow-to-elbow touch. Under such conditions a few men of the highest excellence are worth more than many men without the special skill which is only found as the result of special training applied to men of exceptional physique and moral. But nowadays the most valuable fighting man and the most difficult to perfect is the rifleman who is also a skillful and daring rider."

The President is the highest authority in the world on this subject. He means, in addition to what he says, that the men are shifty in taking care of themselves when hardships thicken. The enlistment of Roosevelt's regiment, that he pushed to the front, and that which followed, made known an element of our military strength that was hardly suspected, and not as now understood to be a substantially available army. He says in his first Presidential Message:

"The American cavalryman, trained to manoeuvre and fight with equal facility on foot and on horseback, is the best type of soldier for general purposes now to be found in the world. The ideal cavalryman of the present day is a man who can fight on foot as effectively as the best infantryman, and who is in addition unsurpassed in the care and management of his horse and in his ability to fight on horseback."

In the President's history *Winning the West* his account of the charge of General Wayne's mounted men, in the battle with the Indians in the "fallen timbers" on the Maumee river, he gives a thrilling description of the horsemen charging at high speed, winding around trees, jumping those fallen, rushing the red men out of their sheltered places to be run over, put to the sword or shot down, the greater number fleeing in terror to the shelter of the British fort, whose officers were equally astonished and incensed.

The Roosevelt army policy is not to increase the number of men in arms, but their efficacy. A great Navy is, however, recommended, irrespective of the Philippines or the Isthmian canal policy. He says:

"The work of upbuilding the Navy must be steadily continued. No one point of our policy, foreign or domestic, is more important than this to the honor and material welfare, and above all to the peace, of our Nation in the future. Whether we desire it or not, we must henceforth recognize that we have international duties no less than international rights.

"Inasmuch, however, as the American people have no thought of abandoning the path upon which they have entered, and especially in view of the fact that the building of the Isthmian canal is fast becoming one of the matters which the whole people are united in demanding, it is imperative that our Navy should be put and kept in the highest state of efficiency, and should be made to answer to our growing needs. So far from being in any way a provocation to war, an adequate and highly trained Navy is the best guaranty against war, the cheapest and most effective peace insurance. The cost of building and maintaining such a Navy represents the very lightest premium for insuring peace which this Nation can possibly pay."

This is a very handsome example of the President's art and force in putting things. As to the growth of the Navy since 1882, he says:

"At that period our Navy consisted of a collection of antiquated wooden ships, already almost as out of place against modern war vessels as the galleys of Alcibiades and Hamilcar—certainly as the ships of Tromp and Blake. Nor at that time did we have men to handle a modern man-of-war."

The same politicians who fought against all national ships, except revenue cutters, are those now persistently engaged in advocating the belittlement of the country, by giving up all the North American islands.

One of the methods of assisting the efficacy of the Army is stated by the President in his most trenchant style:

"Pressure for the promotion of civil officials for political reasons is bad enough, but it is tenfold worse where applied on behalf of officers of the Army or Navy. Every promotion and every detail under the War Department must be made solely with regard to the good of the service and to the capacity and merit of the man himself. No pressure, political, social, or personal, of any kind, will be permitted to exercise the least effect in any question of promotion or detail; and if there is reason to believe that such pressure is exercised at the instigation of the officer concerned, it will be held to militate against him. In our Army we cannot afford to have rewards or duties distributed save on the simple ground that those who by their own merits are entitled to the rewards get them, and that those who are peculiarly fit to do the duties are chosen to perform them."

"Every effort," says the President, "should be made to bring the Army to a constantly increasing state of efficiency. When on actual service no work save that directly in the line of such service should be required. The paper work in the Army, as in the Navy, should be greatly reduced. What is needed is proved power of command to work out in the field. Constant care is necessary to prevent dry rot in the transportation and commissary departments."

One of the striking paragraphs about the Army is this:

"A great debt is owing from the public to the men of the Army and Navy. They should be so treated as to enable them to reach the highest point of efficiency, so that they may be able to respond instantly to any demand made upon them to sustain the interests of the Nation and the honor of the flag. The individual American enlisted man is probably on the whole a more formidable fighting man than the regular of any other Army. Every consideration should be shown him, and in return the highest standard of usefulness should be exacted from him. It is well worth while for the Congress to consider whether the pay of enlisted men upon second and subsequent enlistments should not be increased to correspond with the increased value of the veteran soldier."

Respecting the heritage of veterans, the President is most impressive, saying:

"No other citizens deserve so well of the Republic as the veterans, the survivors of those who saved the Union. They did the one deed which if left undone would have meant that all else in our history went for nothing. But for their steadfast prowess in the greatest crisis of our history, all our annals would be meaningless, and our great experiment in popular freedom and self-government a gloomy failure. Moreover, they not only left us a united Nation, but they left us also as a heritage the memory of the mighty deeds by which the Nation was kept united. We are now indeed one Nation, one in fact as well as in name; we are united in our devotion to the flag which is the symbol of national greatness and unity; and the very completeness of our union enables us all, in every part of the country, to glory in the valor shown alike by the sons of the North and the sons of the South in the times that tried men's souls.

"The men who in the last three years have done so well in the East and the West Indies and on the mainland of Asia have shown that this remembrance is not lost. In any serious crisis the United States must rely for the great mass of its fighting men upon the volunteer soldiery who do not make a permanent profession of the military career; and whenever such a crisis arises the deathless memories of the Civil War will give to Americans the lift of lofty purpose which comes to those whose fathers have stood valiantly in the forefront of the battle."

The military education policy is strongly pressed:

"And in addition to the regulars the advantages of this education should be given to the officers of the National Guard and others in civil life who desire intelligently to fit themselves for possible military duty. The officers should be given the chance to perfect themselves by study in the higher branches of this art. At West Point the education should be of the kind most apt to turn out men who are good in actual field service; too much stress should not be laid on mathematics, nor should proficiency therein be held to establish the right of entry to a corps d'elite. The typical American officer of the best kind need not be a good mathematician; but he must be able to master himself, to control others, and to show boldness and fertility of resource in every emergency."

There is a striking similarity between the views held by President Roosevelt and those of George Washington, whose last letter was pressing upon Alexander Hamilton the value of West Point.

The most notable suggestion with respect to the Army is to give the higher officers and the enlisted men the chance to "practice manoeuvres in mass and on a comparatively large scale. In time of need no amount of individual excellence would avail against the paralysis which would follow inability to work as a coherent whole, under skillful and

daring leadership. The Congress should provide means whereby it will be possible to have field exercises by at least a division of regulars, and if possible also a division of national guardsmen, once a year. These exercises might take the form of field manoeuvres; or, if on the Gulf Coast or the Pacific or Atlantic Seaboard, or in the region of the Great Lakes, the army corps when assembled could be marched from some inland point to some point on the water, there embarked, disembarked after a couple of days' journey at some other point, and again marched inland."

That is the special application of the Tampa and Santiago experience.

The important work done by the President in the Navy Department gives rise to much in the message that shows expert ability. This is an illustration:

"To send a warship against a competent enemy unless those aboard it have been trained by years of actual sea service, including incessant gunnery practice, would be to invite not merely disaster, but the bitterest shame and humiliation. Four thousand additional seamen and one thousand additional marines should be provided; and an increase in the officers should be provided by making a large addition to the classes at Annapolis. There is one small matter which should be mentioned in connection with Annapolis. The pretentious and unmeaning title of "naval cadet" should be abolished; the title of "midshipman," full of historic association, should be restored.

"Even in time of peace a warship should be used until it wears out, for only so can it be kept fit to respond to any emergency. The officers and men alike should be kept as much as possible on blue water, for it is there only they can learn their duties as they should be learned. The big vessels should be manoeuvred in squadrons containing not merely battle ships but the necessary proportion of cruisers and scouts. The torpedo boats should be handled by the younger officers in such manner as will best fit the latter to take responsibility and meet the emergencies of actual warfare.

"Every detail ashore which can be performed by a civilian should be so performed, the officer being kept for his special duty in the sea service. Above all, gunnery practice should be unceasing. It is important to have our Navy of adequate size, but it is even more important that ship for ship it should equal in efficiency any Navy in the world. This is possible only with highly drilled crews and officers, and this in turn imperatively demands continuous and progressive instruction in target practice, ship handling, squadron tactics, and general discipline. Our ships must be assembled in squadrons actively cruising away from harbors and never long at anchor. The resulting wear upon engines and hulls must be endured; a battleship worn out in long training of officers and men is well paid for by the results, while, on the other hand, no matter in how excellent condition, it is useless if the crew be not expert."

Here we have the sort of talk the people have long longed to read. It is significant of business, and that battleships may take risks of usefulness in times of peace.

The President seems to be as much at home in the Postal Department as elsewhere. He says:

"The full measure of postal progress which might be realized has long been hampered and obstructed by the heavy burden imposed on the Government through the intrenched and well-understood abuses which have grown up in connection with second-class mail matter. The extent of this burden appears when it is stated that while the second-class matter makes nearly three-fifths of the weight of all the mail, it paid for the last fiscal year only \$4,294,445 of the aggregate postal revenue of \$111,631,193."

The loss on this item would pay, if the money were saved, the cost of the Navy, enlarged as the President proposes.

In regard to the consular service, the President recommends promotion on merit. He stands by his well known Civil Service ideas, which he has largely caused to be made practical. He says:

"The gain to the government has been immense. The navy yards and postal service illustrate, probably better than any other branches of the Government, the great gain in economy, efficiency and honesty due to the enforcement of this principle.

"Not an office should be filled in the Philippines or Porto Rico with any regard to the man's partizan affiliation or services, with any regard to the political, social, or personal influence which he may have at his command; in short, heed should be paid to absolutely nothing save the man's own character and capacity and the needs of the service.

"The administration of these islands should be as wholly free from the suspicion of partizan politics as the administration of the Army and Navy. All that we ask from the public servant in the Philippines or Porto Rico is that he reflect honor on his country by the way in which he makes that country's rule a benefit to the peoples who have come under it. This is all that we should ask, and we cannot afford to be content with less."

Referring to prosperity, the President congratulates the country that it is "abounding." The "Gold Standard" act is pronounced "timely and judicious." One of the best points in the message is this: "The men who are idle or credulous, the men who seek gains, not by genuine work with head or hand, but by gambling in any form, are always a source of menace, not only to themselves but to others. If the business world loses its head, it loses what legislation cannot supply."

The first essential in dealing with "trusts," the President says, is "publicity," and "in the interest of the public, the government should have the right to

inspect and examine the workings of the great corporations engaged in interstate business. Publicity is the only sure remedy which we can now invoke."

There probably needs to be something else, but that will do as a beginning; "the large corporations, commonly called trusts, though organized in one State, always do business in many States, often doing very little business in the State where they are incorporated. There is utter lack of uniformity in the State laws about them; and as no State has any exclusive interest in or power over their acts, it has in practice proved impossible to get adequate regulation through State action. Therefore, in the interest of the whole people, the Nation should, without interfering with the power of the States in the matter itself, also assume power of supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business."

Nothing more striking has been said of the railroad questions than this: "The captains of industry who have driven the railway systems across this continent, who have built up our commerce, who have developed our manufactures, have, on the whole, done great good to our people."

The President remarks in the further trust division: "It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from Government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested."

The most intelligent attention is given by the President to the immigration questions, the preservation of forests, and the reclamation of arid land. This follows the general drift of remark:

"The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectually prevent Western competition with Eastern agriculture."

Of the present tariff system the President remarks:

"There is a general acquiescence in our present tariff system as a National policy. The first requisite to our prosperity is the continuity and stability of this economic policy. Nothing could be more unwise than to disturb the business interests of the country by any general tariff change at this time. Doubt, apprehension, uncertainty are exactly what we most wish to avoid in the interest of our commercial and material well-being. Our experience in the past has shown that sweeping revisions of the tariff are apt to produce conditions closely approaching panic in the business world. Yet it is not only possible, but emi-

nently desirable, to combine with the stability of our economic system a supplementary system of reciprocal benefit and obligation with other Nations. Such reciprocity is an incident and result of the firm establishment and preservation of our present economic policy. It was especially provided for in the present tariff law.

"Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries."

There is no possible improvement of this statement. The attention of the Senate is called to the reciprocity treaties laid before it by President McKinley, and "subject to this proviso of the proper protection necessary to our industrial well-being at home, the principle of reciprocity must command our hearty support. . . . It is most important that we should maintain the high level of our present prosperity. We have now reached the point in the development of our interests where we are not only able to supply our own markets but to produce a constantly growing surplus for which we must find markets abroad. To secure these markets we can utilize existing duties in any case where they are no longer needed for the purpose of protection."

The country is under obligation to the President for an immense amount of unusually valuable information committed to Congress, and eagerly accepted by the people at large. As the reading of the message was listened to with such attention as has never been exceeded and rarely approached, so it has been received by the readers of the document in millions of homes. There has been an extraordinary gathering of news for this paper. The references to the treatment of arid lands are of great interest, new to the greater number of people, and important. Cuba and the Philippines are disposed of with a rapidity not attempted with the problems. The message contains this: "In Cuba such progress has been made toward putting the independent government of the island upon a firm footing that before the present session of the Congress closes this will be an accomplished fact. Cuba will then start as her own mistress; and to the beautiful Queen of the Antilles, as she unfolds this new page of her destiny, we extend our heartiest greetings and good wishes."

The President goes further in recommending reciprocity in Cuba than in other cases. In the case of Cuba he says:

"There are weighty reasons of morality and of National interest why the policy should be held to have a peculiar application, and I most earnestly ask your attention to the wisdom, indeed to the vital need, of providing for a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States. Cuba has in her constitution affirmed what we desired, that she should stand, in

international matters, in closer and more friendly relations with us than with any other power; and we are bound by every consideration of honor and expediency to pass commercial measures in the interest of her material well-being."

This compliment Porto Rico deserves:

"It is a pleasure to say that it is hardly more necessary to report as to Porto Rico than as to any State or Territory within our continental limits. The island is thriving as never before, and it is being administered efficiently and honestly. Its people are now enjoying liberty and order under the protection of the United States, and upon this fact we congratulate them and ourselves.

"In Hawaii our aim must be to develop the Territory on the traditional American lines. We do not wish a region of large estates tilled by cheap labor; we wish a healthy American community of men who themselves till the farms they own.

"In the Philippines our problem is larger. They are very rich tropical islands, inhabited by many varying tribes, representing widely different stages of progress toward civilization. Our earnest effort is to help these people upward along the stony and difficult path that leads to self-government. We hope to make our administration of the islands honorable to our nation by making it of the highest benefit to the Filipinos themselves."

There is proposed a new cabinet officer to deal with commerce, and the permanency of the Census Bureau is recommended. The contact between government and "labor" is studied with the expectation of reaching conclusions. It is to be remarked that there are no tentative touches of doubtful purpose in regard to the enfeebled clamor of those who would flee from the islands we possess.

The Chinese questions have dwindled, and both sides of the House applauded the recommendation of the re-enactment of the Chinese exclusion law.

The Message closes, as it began, with reference to the mourning of the Nation, and refers to the death of Queen Victoria with expression of sorrow, and there is like reference to the Queen's daughter, the Dowager Empress of Germany, and closes:

"In the midst of our affliction we reverently thank the Almighty that we are at peace with the nations of mankind, and we firmly intend that our policy shall be such as to continue unbroken these international relations of mutual respect and good will."

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

"White House, December 3, 1901."

The matter of the Message is of such moment that the manner of it has not received the attention and admiration that are due to the vigor with which a great variety of subjects are treated, and the merits of the paper simply as a

literary production. We have in a painstaking way prepared this summary, with the purpose of selecting passages that are valuable as expressions of the man himself, that tell the people of our President, and show the principles upon which he means to conduct the Administration in discharge of duty; and we wish to associate with this Message the chapters of his life, and it is progressively set forth, culminating, as they do, in this magnificent Message which is so extensive, so massive in construction, that some time will be required to take its measurements and appreciate its value.

CHAPTER XXV.

"WINNING THE WEST."

Preservation and Restoration of Forests—Irrigation of Arid Lands, the Desert Cancer Cure—More Good Land for the People at Home—The President's Books on the West—His Western Politics—Secretary of the Treasury Lives West of the Mississippi River—Literary Men in Politics.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has made a broad and deep mark upon the public thought and policy of the American people, in his first message. He has touched with firmness, intelligence, discrimination and sympathy, the series of pressing questions that have for some time been described by agitators as "problems," as if they were not merely issues but mysteries. That which the President says has had a tendency to brush aside with light, the clouds and shadows floating before the imagination as novelties of alarm. The questions were relating to taxation, public proprietorship, municipal aggrandizement, after the pattern of the "commune."

The President has not touched anything that he has not simplified, and made clear. He has spoken to the ghosts and they have departed. He has defined the Monroe Doctrine, and it is peace among the Nations. The army is to be no larger but much stronger, through equipment and campaign exercise. That we may not need two navies, we are to construct a ship canal that will unite our immediate front door oceans by way of the Southern gulf, and having thus doubled the world-wide capacity of the war boats, we are to increase them frankly and sufficiently, as becomes the Great Power, with a greater extent than any other of seacoast open all the year round, and three great Archipelagoes to care for in the greater of the Oceans.

Speaking of our vast continental borders, and possessions beyond seas, the President declares for holding them without an uncertain word, and goes into vital matters of home and interior affairs, with a power of statement and persuasiveness of argument, exceeding all example in official papers. His warrant to do this, is that he has more extensive personal acquaintance with our territories and inhabitants, than any other citizen of the United States. Possibly a few veteran railroad conductors have traveled greater distances than he by rail in this country, but that is a problem to be solved by statistics we are not likely soon to obtain.

When George Washington was President he knew more of the West than any other American, with the exception of the hunters of Kentucky. His career, within comparatively narrow limits, resembles in the exploration of new lands and drawing attention to Western resources, that of Roosevelt—remarkably so in his personal knowledge of public lands. The most valued part of the education Washington gave himself was in his occupation as a surveyor. He was self-sustaining in the wilderness, through which he drew the boundary lines of States and estates. His journals contain proof that his eyes saw in the valley of Virginia, and Ohio too, the good lands far and near; and he selected sections that pleased him for himself. He made seven journeys to the "Ohio Country" and saw the "good lands," that were then further from tide-water Virginia, than the "bad lands" of the Upper Missouri are now from any part of our country or of the world, if we count as distance time to overcome the difficulties of travel. One of his studies of enterprise was to connect the navigable water of the Potomac with that of the Ohio by the Chesapeake—Ohio canal system—a plan of improvement as far-sighted in his case, though dissimilar, as that President Roosevelt outlined in his first message to Congress, pleading for the preservation and restoration of forests, and the irrigation of the soil to be redeemed from deserts that ought to be the most productive part of the country, but is the region where the cyclones are formed on the enormous plains swept naked by fire.

Here is the space for the more than imperial enlargement of the area of North American fertility within our boundaries. Africa is the only continent that has more lands wasted until desolate by drought, than North America. The beginning of deserts is the destruction of forests. The message of the President on the preservation of forests, and their extension by culture has awakened the country to the better comprehension of our landed possessions within our own territory, and the national duty that is demanded that the people may have more and more good land for themselves and their children.

It has for a long time been one of the merry-go-rounds of the newspapers that "the great American desert" was displayed, in the atlas used in our schools fifty years ago, as covering the land of the flourishing States between the Missouri and the mountains; and it is the fashion to treat this recollection as a ludicrous and monstrous mistake of the geographers. It is true there were errors in surveying, and exaggerations of the extent of desolation, but there was ample reason for the statement that there was then and is now a great American desert. It is by no means a fable that has vanished, and it is not in essentials a burden of poverty for the people at large to bear. Bring together the mountain streams and the desert plains by a system of irrigation that conserves and distributes the water and we have as an additional inheritance for future generations, a domain stored with incalculable riches and less

than the amount of well spent money invested in the Spanish War, (and that cost but a fraction of its value) would redeem from the desert by the immemorial processes of watering the desert blisters with the Nile, half a dozen opulent Egypts. Our territory subject to this improvement is tremendous in its scope, and already invaded, bi-sected, placed within easy reach of the people at large, by all our trans-continental railroads. Those roads have been the pioneers of the popular conquests of the great States on both sides of and including the Rocky Mountains, and are going on conquering and to conquer, with the victories of peace by the policy of organization of resources the President so eloquently and earnestly recommends. His beneficent proposal must not be pushed aside on the ground that the work is of too much magnitude for us, or the assumption that we have no great deserts in our country. More caravans of Americans were lost in the deserts when pushing on from our Western borders, before the Mexican War, for California, than, according to historic records, ever perished in the lands of sand and fire of Asia or Africa. Why are the Southern shores of the Mediterranean impoverished? Why are Italy and Greece poor, and Palestine and Syria? Why does the valley of the Euphrates decline slowly but surely and fall from the high places of Empire once so easily maintained? It is because the people permitted the forests to perish, themselves the destroyers, so that in place of the fruitful trees of the tropics, that gave shade, and shelter and food to the people, the springs and rivulets vanished, until the deserts with a growth like cancers consumed the lands that had been those of beauty and plenty.

We of America have been losing soil through profligate ignorance in cultivation and carelessness as to the cultivation both of trees and grasses, so that we have committed to the rivers an estimable tribute, reducing the agricultural worth of farm lands in the Mississippi valley, even in the first century of their cultivation. This we must reform altogether, for it is squandering the essentials of the great hereafter, that we may promise ourselves. President Roosevelt knows the lands, many of them, where the mill streams that were once pure and glittering with food fishes, now alternate between wild torrents that wash the invaluable land away to the seas, and shrunken channels, flagrant with impurities, that are allowed to be lost to the lands they should sustain in fertility, and he has called upon the mighty National Government, established in war and expanded by peace to do a work for the people that will aid the general welfare. Such works in the enlightened lands are the surest evidence of enlightened civilization, and give the firmest credit to the agricultural interests in its broadest sense, that has already wonderfully established itself in the more crowded continents.

The original wealth of the land has been largely reduced in proportion to population by the errors of which we are already informed. We have only to put forth our strong arms to overcome in good time and increase the capacity of our country more and more, that our lands shall be the sure foundation for the primacy of the American world power, among the Nations.

The Government is asked to help the people to their own, and do it by the potential capacities put into the hands of the Representatives of the people. The proposition is one "of the people, by the people and for the people." Forest restoration and reclamation of tillable land by irrigation are ideas formulated into policies that go together hand in hand. Those who can look back half a century upon the course of personal affairs and the messages of Presidents to Congress, would be troubled to find, if the task was imposed, a parallel to this paragraph taken from President Roosevelt's message and here presented in its breadth of view and informing force of stating truth in the public interest:

"The Department of Agriculture during the past fifteen years has steadily broadened its work on economic lines, and has accomplished results of real value in upbuilding domestic and foreign trade. It has gone into new fields until it is now in touch with all sections of our country and with two of the island groups that have lately come under our jurisdiction, whose people must look to agriculture as a livelihood. It is searching the world for grains, grasses, fruits and vegetables specially fitted for introduction into localities in the several States and Territories where they may add materially to our resources. By scientific attention to soil survey and possible new crops, to breeding of new varieties of plants, to experimental shipments, to animal industry and applied chemistry, very practical aid has been given our farming and stock-growing interests. The products of the farm have taken an unprecedented place in our export trade during the year that has just closed."

This utterance and that which follows has excited an interest in the policy of the President, that pervades all the States, and in the States directly concerned amounts to a pervading enthusiasm, that will make itself felt and respected. The President continues:

"Public opinion throughout the United States has moved steadily toward a just appreciation of the value of forests, whether planted or of natural growth. The great part played by them in the creation and maintenance of the National wealth is now more fully realized than ever before.

"Wise forest protection does not mean the withdrawal of forest resources, whether of wood, water or grass, from contributing their full share to the welfare of the people, but, on the contrary, gives the assurance of larger and more certain supplies. The fundamental idea of forestry is the perpetuation of forests by use. Forest protection is not an end of itself; it is a means to increase

and sustain the resources of our country and the industries which depend upon them. The preservation of our forests is an imperative business necessity. We have come to see clearly that whatever destroys the forest, except to make way for agriculture, threatens our well-being."

The President goes into details of the laws and defines the needed improvement of administration. He points out the fragments that should be united in a Bureau of Forestry. The executive power is now scattered, the protection of the forests on Government lands, the President says, rests in the reserves, and "with the General Land Office, the mapping and description of their timber with the United States Geological Survey, and the preparation of plans for their conservative use with the Bureau of Forestry, which is also charged with the general advancement of practical forestry in the United States." These various functions should be united in the Bureau of Forestry, to which they properly belong. The present diffusion of responsibility is bad from every standpoint. The President should have by law the power of transferring lands for use as forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture. He already has such power in the case of lands needed by the Departments of War and the Navy.

"The wise administration of the forest reserves will not be less helpful to the interests which depend on water than to those which depend on wood and grass. The water supply itself depends upon the forest. In the arid region it is water, not land, which measures production. The Western half of the United States would sustain a population greater than that of our whole country to-day if the waters that now run to waste were saved and used for irrigation. The forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal questions of the United States.

"Certain of the forest reserves should also be made preserves for the wild forest creatures. All of the reserves should be better protected from fires. Many of them need special protection because of the great injury done by live stock, above all by sheep. The increase in deer, elk, and other animals in the Yellowstone Park shows what may be expected when other mountain forests are properly protected by law and properly guarded. Some of these areas have been so denuded of surface vegetation by overgrazing that the ground breeding birds, including grouse and quail, and many mammals, including deer, have been exterminated or driven away. At the same time the water-storing capacity of the surface has been decreased or destroyed, thus promoting floods in times of rain and diminishing the flow of streams between rains.

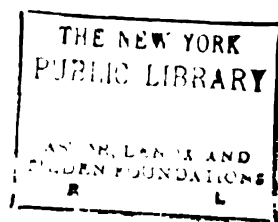
"In cases where natural conditions have been restored for a few years, vegetation has again carpeted the ground, birds and deer are coming back, and hundreds of persons, especially from the immediate neighborhood, come each summer to enjoy the privilege of camping. Some at least of the forest reserves



ETHEL ROOSEVELT



ARCHIBALD ROOSEVELT



should afford perpetual protection to the native fauna and flora, safe havens of refuge to our rapidly diminishing wild animals of the larger kinds, and free camping grounds for the ever-increasing numbers of men and women who have learned to find rest, health, and recreation in the splendid forests and flower-clad meadows of our mountains. The forest reserves should be set apart forever for the use and benefit of our people as a whole and not sacrificed to the shortsighted greed of a few.

"The forests are natural reservoirs. By restraining the streams in flood and replenishing them in drought they make possible the use of waters otherwise wasted. They prevent the soil from washing, and so protect the storage reservoirs from filling up with silt. Forest conservation is therefore an essential condition of water conservation."

The words used by the President in this connection seem to be many until they are read, and then they are seen to be in proportion to what they contain, few and precious, full of benevolent and just meaning. It is with absolute propriety, the excellence of practical understanding, and the correct apprehension of following an effective line marked out with precision, that President Roosevelt opens the "Arid Land" question with the water question. He is the pioneer President in this field who has commanded the attention of the country to one of its paramount issues and interests. He says:

"The forests alone cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual States acting alone. Far-reaching interstate problems are involved; and the resources of single States would often be inadequate. It is properly a National function, at least in some of its features. It is as right for the National Government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the head waters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control, under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same streams.

"The Government should construct and maintain these reservoirs as it does other public works. Where their purpose is to regulate the flow of streams, the water should be turned freely into the channels in the dry season to take the same course under the same laws as the natural flow.

"The reclamation of the unsettled arid public lands presents a different problem. Here it is not enough to regulate the flow of streams. The object of the Government is to dispose of the land to settlers who will build homes upon it. To accomplish this object water must be brought within their reach.

"The necessary foundation has already been laid for the inauguration of the policy just described. It would be unwise to begin by doing too much, for a great deal will doubtless be learned, both as to what can and what cannot be safely attempted by the early efforts, which must of necessity be partly experimental in character. At the very beginning the Government should make clear, beyond shadow of doubt, its intention to pursue this policy on lines of the broadest public interest. No reservoir or canal should ever be built to satisfy selfish, personal or local interests; but only in accordance with the advice of trained experts, after long investigation has shown the locality where all the conditions combine to make the work most needed and fraught with the greatest usefulness to the community as a whole. There should be no extravagance, and the believers in the need of irrigation will most benefit their cause by seeing to it that it is free from the least taint of excessive or reckless expenditure of the public moneys.

"Whatever the Nation does for the extension of irrigation should harmonize with, and tend to improve, the condition of those now living on irrigated land. We are not at the starting point of this development. Over two hundred millions of private capital has already been expended in the construction of irrigation works, and many million acres of arid land reclaimed. A high degree of enterprise and ability has been shown in the work itself; but as much cannot be said in reference to the laws relating thereto. The security and value of the homes created depend largely on the stability of titles to water; but the majority of these rest on the uncertain foundation of court decisions rendered in ordinary suits at law. With a few creditable exceptions, the arid States have failed to provide for the certain and just division of streams in times of scarcity. Lax and uncertain laws have made it possible to establish rights to water in excess of actual uses or necessities, and many streams have already passed into private ownership, or a control equivalent to ownership.

"Whoever controls a stream practically controls the land it renders productive, and the doctrine of private ownership of water apart from land cannot prevail without causing enduring wrong. The recognition of such ownership, which has been permitted to grow up in the arid regions, should give way to a more enlightened and larger recognition of the rights of the public in the control and disposal of the public water supplies. Laws founded upon conditions obtaining in humid regions, where water is too abundant to justify hoarding it, have no proper application in a dry country.

"In the arid States the only right to water which should be recognized is that of use. In irrigation this right should attach to the land reclaimed and be inseparable therefrom. Granting perpetual water rights to other than users, without compensation to the public, is open to all the objections which apply to giving away perpetual franchises to the public utilities of cities. A few

of the Western States have already recognized this, and have incorporated in their constitutions the doctrine of perpetual State ownership of water.

“The benefits which have followed the unaided developments of the past justify the Nation’s aid and co-operation in the more difficult and important work yet to be accomplished. Laws so vitally affecting homes as those which control the water supply will only be effective when they have the sanction of the irrigators; reforms can only be final and satisfactory when they come through the enlightenment of the people most concerned. The larger development which National aid insures should, however, awaken in every arid State the determination to make its irrigation system equal in justice and effectiveness that of any country in the civilized world. Nothing could be more unwise than for isolated communities to continue to learn everything experimentally, instead of profiting by what is already known elsewhere. We are dealing with a new and momentous question, in the pregnant years while institutions are forming, and what we do will affect not only the present but future generations.

“Our aim should be not simply to reclaim the largest area of land and provide homes for the largest number of people, but to create for this new industry the best possible social and industrial conditions; and this requires that we not only understand the existing situation, but avail ourselves of the best experience of the time in the solution of its problems. A careful study should be made, both by the Nation and the States, of the irrigation laws and conditions here and abroad. Ultimately it will probably be necessary for the Nation to co-operate with the several arid States in proportion as these States by their legislation and administration show themselves fit to receive it.”

There is much more in this than the preservation of forests and the revival of the soil by the transforming grace of water. The influence upon the whole country would be wholesome; and one good work calls for another, until there would be laid the foundations of structures, splendid as the architects of statesmanship ever drew. Public observation rightly directed, and gathering force with progress, would do more than replenish the streams with water, to be diffused to impart to the soil its ancient fruitfulness. The next thing should be to prohibit the poisoning of living waters with sewerage and manufacturing refuse. As the evil course goes on that has grown with the growth of our cities and towns that demand drainage, the streams carry off the original soil polluted with fertilizers that the land demands, and in this there is a double deadliness, a two-edged destruction. We can count upon the farmers now, to sustain the policy the President has suggested, for they are aware of the losses of the inherent value of their farms, where there is at once a prodigal drain upon resources and a sweeping consumption of the properties that preserved the crop capacity of the fields.

There is aid from a source not long ago first available in saving forests. Iron is very largely employed in the offices for which wood was but a generation ago, almost exclusive and indispensable. Steel has been cheapened and bettered. It is the most reliable of all materials for structures. Our bridges, fences and houses do not demand timber as formerly. There are not the great trees in the country to furnish bridge material for their old style of construction, and, happily, the substitute is an improvement. Fences of steel, and stone, put an end to the necessity of rail splitting. Houses are no longer dependent upon trunks of trees for strength of construction. The influence of the use of iron instead of wood is perceptible in all the older States. Ship building uses bars and sheets of steel so that forests are not buried any more when navies are stranded. On the other hand, there is a great consumption of trees for the manufacture of paper, but that has perhaps reached its largest development, and there are grasses that may go far to take the place of wood. The trees from which paper is manufactured are usually of rapid growth. It is said in the State of Maine that great as is the consumption of wood in paper making, the manufacture of spools and for other uses, the quantity of trees is equal to their consumption in the State, and wherever the land is cleared, young forests arise equal to the destruction elsewhere within the State. If this be quite accurate, and it is given on most intelligent authority, it is a hopeful balance and should have an educational influence.

The original forests upon the lands classified as "arid" were consumed by conflagrations. The wide, wild fires swept the plains until the ground was exposed to extremes of temperature so often and subjected to winds, that increased in violence, as the natural protectors were swept away, until the land was as if blasted. Now the cotton, locust and apple trees are gradually gaining in the occupation of land, and serving to some extent as barriers against hurricanes. The President's message has summoned a great host to the field he has pointed out for improvement, and the impulse he has given forestation and irrigation will move on accelerated, and develop utilities that if now stated would be held by great numbers of the people, incredible.

The rugged outlines of the situation upon which suddenly a great light has fallen, are contained in the simple statement that the mountains between the Pacific Coast and the Mississippi form a vast reservoir of snow, heaped all the years and nearly all the months along the huge slopes in the deep ravines, between the massive enclosure of high lands, and wherever the blizzards sweep the snows so that when the summer comes, flow as the weather warms; and each rivulet that can be diverted from wearing its channel deeper and giving its treasure freely to the desolate lands, becomes a lesser Nile; and the desert blossoms where the transforming water touches the dust and ashes. The miracle of Egypt is wrought, the brown plains turning to green and gold.

There are no pyramids there from which "forty centuries" will look upon deeds of arms, but from every mountain side flows silvery brooks to feed the burning plains with life, and the harvest will find markets the world around. The shores of the Mediterranean will call upon our mountains for help, not in vain; and there will be added "Empires for Liberty," including the fertility of Egypt with the glory of Greece.

Senator Haasbrook, December 4th, 1901, introduced a bill, reserving, setting aside, and appropriating the receipts from the sales of public lands in the arid and semi-arid regions of the United States as a special fund, to be known as the arid-land-reclamation fund, for the construction of reservoirs and other necessary irrigation works for the reclamation of said lands, and for other purposes.

It was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands. It is: "Provided, That in case the receipts from the sales of public lands, other than those realized from the sales of lands referred to in this section, are insufficient to meet the requirements for the support of agricultural colleges in the several States and Territories, under the Act of August thirtieth, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled, 'An Act to apply a portion of the public lands to the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts, established under the provisions of an Act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two,' the deficiency in the sum necessary for the support of the said colleges shall be provided from any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated."

The disposition of Congress is evidently friendly. There were some expressions of surprise that in the reconstruction of the Cabinet so far as retirements prepared the way, the President found the successor of Mr. Gage, in Iowa, though that State was already represented in the Cabinet, by the Secretary of Agriculture. It is not, however, essential that the Treasury Department should be in the hands of one whose occupation is banking. Our most memorable Secretaries of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, Salmon P. Chase, and John Sherman, were not experienced before taking charge of the Treasury Department, in the detail of large financial transactions, but they knew the public money business and how to transact it, and their success was distinguished in the highest degree. There seemed to be a shade of recognition of the unexpected in the public sentiment of the money centres, because Governor Shaw was sought for the Treasury. One of the highest qualifications of Mr. Roosevelt for the great office is that he knows the whole country, and is exceedingly well informed about the West. A Secretary who is a figure in the money markets is not needed to care for the immense mass of gold we have in the Treasury. The requirement is sound principle, and that means the gold standard because it makes money abundant, and cheap to borrowers of

good credit. There are two reasons of locality that make Iowa a very proper place to find a suitable Secretary of the Treasury. One is that Iowa raised the most extravagant crop of false financiers in variety and vehemence that ever appeared in any State. The wildest ideas were widespread and in the discussion of the problem of the money standard, the people of Iowa were exceptionally well educated in finance, when the standard issue was threshed out in that State and settled right. Iowa was very productive of outright repudiators of bonded indebtedness, and when they disappeared there was light beyond the Mississippi. There are none so strong for the truth as the fighters for it. Iowa's veteran, Senator Allison, has been the ideal Secretary of the Treasury for many years, but has adhered to the opinion his place of greater usefulness is the Senate. Iowa is well situated and educated to supply the vacancy in the Treasury Department that has been announced, and the President was fortunate to find so excellent a man as Governor Shaw, to fill a vacancy of such importance. The President has been highly complimented for his selection.

While the literary labors of the President are not confined to the West, his writings are largely of the Great West, and have the flavor of the soil. His "Winning the West" is five volumes in all, the third published in 1894—"The Trans-Allegheny Commonwealths." He says of it:

"The period covered in this volume includes the seven years immediately succeeding the close of the Revolutionary War. It was during these seven years that the constitution was adopted, and actually went into effect; an event, if possible, even more momentous for the West than for the East. The time was one of vital importance to the whole nation; alike to the people of the inland frontier and to those of the seaboard. The course of events during these years determined whether we should become a mighty nation or a mere snarl of weak and quarrelsome little commonwealths, with a history as bloody and meaningless as that of the Spanish American States."

Senator Lodge is a statesman who has written history; and he and Mr. Roosevelt are authors of "Hero Tales from American History."

Last year, Mr. Roosevelt's "Biography of Oliver Cromwell" was published. The Sagamore edition of Roosevelt's works collected was issued in fifteen volumes last year. The production of this library is a surprising achievement. It could have been made possible only by the most faithful industry, joined to a surprisingly orderly mind, retentive memory, and patience in making sure of the small features that make up the certainty that the work is that of information, not imagination. The most valuable of his books are the *Public Papers*, for 1899 and 1900, of New York. They will rank very high.

If President Roosevelt had been when he first wrote history, called the *Boy Historian*, the name, though not falsified, would have been misleading. While he was becoming a self-made man, he "aged rapidly," as Napoleon said

when his youth was regarded as a fault, one did on fields of battle. While poetry may be applauded when produced at an uncommonly early age, the judgments of the origin and consequences of events seem to demand not only talent and industry, but maturity. While we know the President wrote history before he had distinction as a politician, the fact that he was an age when a college graduate is ascertaining his adaptations, and possibly reading a little law, tentatively to tell whether he has a taste for it, is not disclosed in his books. They consist of sober studies, and serious statements of facts, and bear the marks of intelligent and patient labor. The subject chosen was the very thing to kindle the fervor of patriotism, and call for high colors and flash light snap-shots of the picturesque. It was the 1812-15 naval war with England. The young author had an idea of the dignity of history that would not allow him to depart from truth in the celebration of the gallantry of his countrymen—not even by coloring a victory too high. His American blood is very red, but it is not often perceptible in his historical work. He is a stern referee in combats, showing fair play to an extent that an enthusiast on our side deplores. When he does praise, his cool and clear impartiality makes it praise indeed; and, presently, the character for judicial integrity is established, and the employment of accurate statements is a delight. There is ruggedly distinct the constant evidence of searching and preserving investigation, that seeks the verities and goes to the bottom of pigeon holes, official reports, private letters—indeed, all the authenticities. There is nothing extenuated and nothing set down in favoritism. It has not unfrequently happened that American History about America is so ardently patriotic, that it is partizan, and the youth of America find flattery rather than fact. The very truth, however, is what the patriot truly wants.

Roosevelt's way of putting things for our side is to state incidents with studious avoidance of exaggeration, so calmly that the readers are not carried away with the energies of enthusiasm, by the arts of eluding the unpleasant and exaggerating the agreeable.

The early historical writings of Mr. George Bancroft glowed with color, and blazed with the inflammable inspiration of Americanism. If we may speak his honored name, as an essayist upon all our glories, we should, to be candid with Roosevelt, say that he is as a man who works in iron, and is at a forge, hammering the iron truth on an anvil, that rings while the metal stricken into form gives out showers of bright flashes. That which is wrought is not meant to call upon emotional natures for admiration, but the workman smites hard and fast to weld the bars into a structure that will stand firm against the thunder of a sledge.

The knights in the tournaments, swept from the helmets of each other their plumes, so that the feathers flew with the wind, before blood was drawn.

Roosevelt loves to speak of a combat, when steel edges bite and the turmoil is musical. He ransacks the papers that tell the truth in an unvarnished way. His grand passion is for the particulars, names, dates, rolls, diaries, private letters, cleaning up points invaluable. If it is a fight at sea, that which is to be told first is wanted, all about the ships, and all about the guns aboard, the number of men, state of the weather, possibly family treasures of officers' papers. One fact brings in another, and so history is made real and earnest, and of absorbing interest, because the veracity of it asserts itself.

The surprise of the books from the President's pen is, however, not that the first of them were written by a very young man to undertake such a task, but that he has gone on for twenty years, and ranks high among our historians. His range of subjects is remarkable, as his productiveness is unflagging. His Americanism gives forth a better light than brag or bluster, and the splendid volumes, "Winning the West," are read with surprise that the President's reputation as a historian has not reached a celebrity, exceeding what it has attained. He has placed before the American people the true story of the West, from Daniel Boone, George Rogers Clark, Lewis and Clarke, and all the heroes, white and red, from those who fought over the Alleghanies and the "Dark and Bloody," but "Happy Hunting Grounds," the Salt Licks and Sugar Camps of the Blue Grass parks of Kentucky, down to the days when the historian becomes a ranchman and hunted everything in the still unoccupied Rockies and along the remote rivers that contribute to the Missouri. His selection of Thomas H. Benton for a subject of biography displays Roosevelt's strong sympathy with the West, and his enlightenment as to the men who were foremost in the passage of the Mississippi by the people dwelling between the Atlantic and the great river, to establish new States. Jefferson and Jackson had been remembered as chief of the statesmen and heroes who gained the great valley and continued well doing to the ocean that rolls from America to Asia; but Benton's brave and striking services and glorious watchwords had been, not forgotten, but unappreciated in their magnitude, until the young historian, in writing of the ways the West was won, discovered the grandeur of Benton's work, and gave it place, and erected in imperishable form his monument in literature. There is a certain majesty about Benton that will be memorable. His eye first clearly caught the luminous fact that the West—our West—was the way to the East. It was his finger pointed, and his voice uttered, "There is the road to the Indies." Our fathers crossed the waters from Europe, and our sons inherit the Destiny that brings us face to face with Asia. Roosevelt, like Benton, holds that more land for the people is a primary need, if we are to do our duty. We have won our way across the American continent, and stand guard over a hemisphere.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HIS CO-ORDINATE DEPARTMENTS.

Lieutenant-General Miles Imparts Information and Is Rebuked—What the Secretaries of War and Navy had to Say—Admiral Dewey Did Not Tell All He Meant—The President on Dangerous Obedience to Orders—His Two Years' Old Opinion Was Sampson Was in Command—There Is a Shake Up—A "Historian" Ordered Not to Labor Any More, Pleads He Is of the Civil Service Class, but Is Put out—Melancholy Illness of Admiral Sampson—The Origin of the Trouble—The President's Finding Finally.

THE official and other documents in which the agitations of Washington City, during the holiday recess of Congress, were recorded, and the Associated Press as distinguished from the Journals that more largely represent individual or corporate enterprise, are not in full accord as to the facts, but all the outlines are clear. The Press that may be called historically Opposition, display high colors, not in evidence in the Newspapers of naturally strong inclinations to sustain the Administration.

It has not been at any time a secret, that the McKinley Cabinet was unlikely to last longer than through the holidays, and the reconstruction began in the week before Christmas came.

The President could not be expected to make a great change in character expressly to detain a Cabinet, members of which were known to seek relief from office before the death of President McKinley. There was an element in the relations of McKinley and his Cabinet strengthening that of a concert in public policy—that of personal consideration. This was an expression of mutual affection. With every desire on both sides to cultivate kindness between President Roosevelt and the McKinley Cabinet, it was evident the conditions of endurance were lacking. The policy of President McKinley was from the early days of his first Administration to be confidential with and deferential to the Cabinet; and at the same time have his own way smoothly and certainly. All the members of the Cabinet loved him and served him gladly. There was no one suspected of controlling him. He also was pleased to be very close to Congress, and got more out of Congress, than would have been possible in any other way, than by making all Senators and Representatives welcome to

the White House. Whether he ordered an extra session, as at first, or refused one, as at last, he did it in such a way as to be agreeable to the average member, and with the exception of a few bidders for sensations, this applies to all members. The busy men of both Houses were frequent callers at the White House, and each found himself in favor, irrespective of partizan antecedents. It was not unusual if a member during the day was exuberant on "the floor" in fault finding with the President, he would be found around the White House in the evening, with a dress coat on, beaming with the cordiality of delight, himself a celebration of good fellowship. Still, there were "scattering" "statesmen" who made gross investments in malignity, which makes it awkward in some cases to meet the exigencies of peaceable public opinion.

Vice-President Hobart was very near President McKinley, and the two had alike the charms of gentleness. The relations of President McKinley and Vice-President Roosevelt were entirely agreeable, and that was not for the reason of their resemblances in clear public purposes, so much as the fact of their differences, duly recognized and interpreted with good will. McKinley had a habit of carrying on his own shoulders great burdens of Cabinet matters that he need not as a rule have taken, but he and the Cabinet were mutual helpers. This, however, was an early, not a late experience.

When the Spanish War opened, it was said three departments were disabled, and the disabilities credited to bad health. The President was willing to do everything one man could reach, and through Day, Corbin and Roosevelt, the four were all day and all night laborers. The last word came very often at all the hours of the days and nights, from the President himself. This was almost invariably true if the matters were momentous.

The President had much pleasure in praising his Cabinet, and was surprised that any one thought they were not, as a body, a delight to the country, save in the fact that there was a trouble in bad health. When Vice-President Hobart died, and it was evident McKinley should run for a second term, it was in the Cabinet to which the President first turned to find a suitable Vice-President. There were, however, differences of opinion even as to that; and into the warm discussion Roosevelt was summoned by the people to disturb harmony because he was opposed to himself as a candidate. There was a Cabinet candidate, notwithstanding, and Secretary Long was the man; but there was over against him that the Commander-in-Chief of the American Atlantic fleet found in his personal information and put it in his dispatches that the conduct of Admiral Schley was "reprehensible." Sampson was also weakened by a warning from Secretary Long that ironclads should "not be risked." There were a dozen questions in the air sharp as swords. Into this agitated locality, however, it is not necessary to enter. Admiral Sampson, notified that an ironclad must not be risked, did not prove very aggressive, and

did not hasten to aid the Army. He and General Shafer were about to have a long talk over the problem of helping the Army without hurting the Navy, when Captain General Blanco ordered Cervera to do the very thing that eliminated him. It was to rush out of the harbor into which he fled for coal. So severe was the fixity of our Department that the most fearful thing possible was for the Spanish fleet to get out. It did not seem to occur to the Admiral in Chief Commanding, but gone to hold a conference, that as the torpedoes were up and the Spanish wrecks littering the coast while the New York and Oregon were hard after the last of the shattered fugitives, the thing to do was to go into the harbor of Santiago and himself finish the job. Admiral Sampson was still apprehensive another Spaniard might get out, and so ran up the coast where the wreckage was and made the acquaintance of the Spaniards who survived the catastrophe of doing that which had alarmed our Navy Department so much.

President Roosevelt on the subject of the Sampson-Schley contention, in his speech presenting a sword to Commodore Philip in February, 1889, accepted the Navy Department view of the case as to Sampson's command in the battle. The Governor's address covered the ground as he understood it, so completely we present all he had to say:

"Commodore Philip: It is peculiarly pleasant to me to present you with this sword, for one of my last official acts, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was to break through regulations in order to give you the chance to have the turrets of Texas so geared that her great guns could be used to the best possible advantage; and the sequel showed how well it was for the service, that you should be given the opportunity to get the utmost service from the mighty war engine entrusted to your care.

"When a commander-in-chief, afloat or ashore, has done the best possible with his forces, then rightly the chief credit belongs to him, and wise and patriotic students of the Santiago sea-campaign gladly pay their homage first to Admiral Sampson. It was Admiral Sampson who initiated and carried on the extraordinary blockade, letting up even less by night than by day, that will stand as an example for all similar blockades in the near future. It was owing to the closeness and admirable management of the system of night blockades which he introduced, that Cervera's fleet was forced to come out by daylight. In other words, it was the success of his system which ensured to the splendid sea captains under him, the chance to show their prowess to the utmost possible advantage. But the actual fight, although Admiral Sampson was present and in command was a Captain's fight, and in this actual fighting, each captain did his work according to his own best judgment.

"You, sir, by your conduct, alike during and after the fight; by your courage, by your professional skill and by your humanity, reflected honor upon

the service to which you belong, upon the State in which you were born, and upon the mighty Nation on the roll of whose worthies you that day wrote your name with your sword. I give utterance to the sentiment of all New York State—a sentiment from which no man in the commonwealth will dissent—when I ask you to take this sword as a token of the high esteem in which we hold you, and our grateful acknowledgment of your having done a deed which has added to the long honor roll in which all Americans take a lasting pride.

“You and your comrades at Manila and Santiago, did their part well, and more than well. Sailor and soldier, on sea and on land, have bought with their valor, their judgment, their skill and their blood, a wonderful triumph for America. It now rests with our statesmen to see that the triumph is not made void, in whole or in part. By your sword you won from war a glorious peace. It is for the statesmen at Washington to see that the treaty which concludes the peace is ratified. Cold indeed are the hearts of those Americans who shrink both from war and peace, when the war and peace alike are for the honor and the interest of America.”

It has not any time seemed improbable that the views of President Roosevelt might have been considerably modified, but the important testimony taken by Admiral Dewey's court, came at a time when he was absorbed by events of the gravest and most exacting and distressing nature. The question in point at the front was, as to the propriety of Admiral Dewey's delivery of judgment, which was the first matter the people cared to hear about. There is a good deal of evidence on file that Admiral Dewey is a man whom President Roosevelt holds close to his heart.

When the President of the United States was Governor of New York he issued the following message:

MESSAGE RELATING TO APPROPRIATION TO CELEBRATE THE
RETURN OF ADMIRAL DEWEY.

State of New York, Executive Chamber, Albany, May 24, 1899.

To the Legislature:

I call to your attention the desirability of making an appropriation to provide for the proper celebration of the return of Admiral Dewey, an American whom all Americans worthy of the name delight to honor, the man who at the close of the nineteenth century has added fresh renown to the flag that has already so often been borne to glorious triumph on land and on sea. The thunder of Dewey's guns at Manila Bay raised in a moment's time the prestige of American arms throughout the world, and added new honor to American citizenship at home and abroad; and his services throughout the trying months that followed, though less brilliant, were hardly less useful to his country. It is fitting that we should show in appropriate form the high regard we feel

for the great admiral, and for every officer and sailor of his fleet; that we should testify our appreciation of the debt under which this country lies to him and to them, and indeed to all their comrades in our forces afloat and ashore.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

It will be observed that the President has contended for the necessity of a large margin of discretion. Secretary Long is the author of the dispatch commanding Admiral Sampson to be cautious.

We quote a few of the many happy, strong and gracious things that President Roosevelt has had to say of Admiral Dewey.

"Admiral Dewey has done more than add a glorious page to our history; more even than do a deed the memory of which will always be an inspiration to his countrymen, and especially his countrymen of his own profession. He has also taught us a lesson which should have profound practical effects, if only we were willing to learn it aright. In the first place, he partly grasped and partly made his opportunity.

"One factor in Admiral Dewey's appointment—of which he is very possibly ignorant—was the way in which he had taken responsibility in purchasing coal for the squadron which was to have been used against Chile, if war with Chile had broken out, at the time General Harrison was President. A service will do well or ill at the outbreak of war, very much in proportion to the way it has been prepared to meet the outbreak during the preceding months.

"No small part of the good done by the admirable war college, under Captains Mahan, Taylor and Goddard, lay in their insistence upon the need of the naval officer's instantly accepting responsibility in any crisis, and doing what was best for the flag, even though it was probable the action might be disavowed by his immediate superiors, and though it might result in his own personal inconvenience and detriment. This was taught not merely as an abstract theory, but with direct reference to concrete cases; for instance, with reference to taking possession of Hawaii, if a revolution should by chance break out there during the presence of an American war-ship, or if the war-ship of a foreign power attempted to interfere with the affairs of the island.

"For the work which Dewey had to do willingness to accept responsibility was a prime requisite. A man afraid to vary in times of emergency from the regulations laid down in time of peace would never even have got the coal with which to steam to Manila from Hong-Kong the instant the crisis came. We were peculiarly fortunate in our Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Long; but the best Secretary that ever held the Navy portfolio could not successfully direct operations on the other side of the world. All that he could do was to choose a good man, give him the largest possible liberty of action, and back him up in every way; and this Secretary Long did. But if the man had been timid about taking risks, nothing that could be done for him would have availed. Such a

man would not have disobeyed orders. The danger would have been of precisely the opposite character. He would scrupulously have done just whatever he was told to do, and then would have sat down and waited for further instructions, so as to protect himself if something happened to go wrong. An infinity of excuses can always be found for non-action.

"Admiral Dewey was sent to command the fleet on the Asiatic station primarily because he had such a record in the past that the best officers in the Navy believe him to be peculiarly a man of the fighting temperament and fit to meet emergencies, and because he had shown his willingness to assume heavy responsibilities. How amply he justified this choice it is not necessary to say. On our roll of Naval heroes his name will stand second to that of Farragut alone, and no man since the Civil War, whether soldier or civilian, has added so much to the honorable renown of the Nation or has deserved so well of it."

There are no more characteristic utterances from President Roosevelt than the above. He especially commends Admiral Dewey because he was a man who would take risks, and this is "an inspiration to his countrymen." The President points out that if a man in Dewey's place had been "timid about taking risks," "such a man would not have disobeyed orders" but would have obeyed them however wrong and ruinous. That is to say such a timid man would not have risked an iron clad if ordered not to do so. The President significantly adds: "The danger would have been of precisely the contrary character;" that is to say, there would have been danger in the obsolete orders. Dewey risked all the ironclads he had, and cut the cable on account of the Spaniards at the same time, even though he could not hear from Washington, except by steamboat, running eight hundred and twenty miles from Hong-Kong to Manila Bay.

In his first Message to Congress President Roosevelt says: the iron clads should be worn out in hard work, and he proposes to change the whole character of the Naval service. He is emphatic, peremptory and eminently right about this.

Lieutenant General Miles when on a visit to relatives at Cincinnati was reported to say:

"I am willing to take the judgment of Admiral Dewey in the matter. He has been a commander of a fleet and as such has known the anxieties and responsibilities which rest on a man under these circumstances. He was instrumental in the destruction of one Spanish fleet and knows and realizes the feelings that encompass an officer under such conditions.

"I think Dewey has summed up the matter in a clear and concise manner and I believe his conclusions will be indorsed by the patriotic people of the United States. I have no sympathy with the efforts which have been made to destroy the honor of an officer under such circumstances."

The President directed the Secretary of War to call the attention of General Miles to this interview, to ascertain whether the "observations of a co-ordinate branch of the Government, in a matter now pending, was made as reported," and "to afford opportunity for explanation in writing."

To the Secretary's letter General Miles made this reply:

"Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C., December 20, 1901.—The Honorable, the Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.—Sir: Replying to your note of the 19th inst., I have the honor to state that my observations, as substantially reported, had no reference to the action, pending or otherwise, of a co-ordinate branch of the service. They were merely my personal views based upon matters set forth in various publications which had been given to the world and concerning which I conceive there was no impropriety in expressing an opinion, the same as any other citizen, upon a matter of such public interest. My observations were in no sense intended as a criticism of any action taken by a co-ordinate branch of the service, and the statement that I had no sympathy with any efforts tending to disparage a distinguished and gallant officer likewise had no such reference.

"Very Respectfully,

"NELSON A. MILES, Lieutenant General."

On the following day General Miles wrote this letter and had it handed to the Secretary of War:

"Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C., December 21, 1901.—The Honorable, the Secretary of War—Sir: Referring to my note of yesterday, and in order that there may be no misunderstanding, I desire to say that for several years a distinguished and gallant officer has been assailed by parties who have endeavored to write him and other high officials down, until finally he appealed against such assaults to a co-ordinate branch of the Government.

"That co-ordinate branch of the Government granted him a court of inquiry, and, as I understand it, they unanimously exonerated him from such epithets as coward, poltroon, et cetera, and their opinions were given to the public for the information of all citizens. When I said that I had no sympathy with those who had endeavored to destroy the reputation of a high officer, who, like all other officers, regards his honor more sacred than life, I had in mind and referred to those assaults against which the Admiral had appealed for protection and justification, and certainly not to a co-ordinate branch of the Government.

"I request that this note be laid before the President, and have no objection to its being made public.

"NELSON A. MILES, Lieutenant General."

Secretary Long seems to have been moved to prevent any more "trial of Schley." The country was not of the opinion that Schley was tried, but they have read the testimony; and there need be no hard feelings as to the dissolution of the court. The people do not require any more courts to know the state of the case. The Secretary has also approved of "the Majority Report," and that is not of moment, for the testimony is published. There are several competent persons who can state their views. Mr. Long says:

"And after careful consideration the findings of fact and the opinion of the full court are approved."

Perhaps the main matter was that no ironclad—thinly clad—ship of ours, was hurt except the Brooklyn, and she was not disabled. This was according to the policy, but the order not to risk an ironclad was disregarded by Schley.

Concerning Secretary Long's opinion of Dewey, we have this:

"As to the points on which the presiding member differs from the majority of the court, the opinion of the majority is approved.

"As to the further expression of his views by the same member with regard to the questions of command on the morning of July 3, 1898, and of the title to credit for the ensuing victory, the conduct of the court in making no finding and rendering no opinion on those questions is approved—indeed, it could with propriety take no other course, evidence on these questions during the inquiry having been excluded by the court.

"The Department approves the recommendation of the court that no further proceedings be had in the premises.

"The Department records its appreciation of the arduous labors of the whole court.

"JOHN D. LONG, Secretary of the Navy."

This is Mr. Long's opinion, and it is to be valued according to the final, general judgments. It is not in harmony with the reasons why Dewey was according to President Roosevelt, sent to the Asiatic Station. There he took "risks," even took a "loop" five miles long out of the cable. Dewey might have said much more, but it did not seem necessary.

Among the risks Dewey took were the torpedoes. He knew the Spaniards had a supply, but remembered Farragut, and ran right along, at full speed. Another risk was the nine-inch Krupp guns, three in a row at the Lunetta battery. One, of the bolts from a Krupp gun passed over the Olympic and struck the water five miles down the bay. Taking such risks was contrary to the orders of the Navy Department.

Secretary Root's reprimand is one thing as he wrote it and another in the highly colored reports of it. We remark the difference between cold fact and warm color in all that has been said on the prosecuting side of the Santiago controversy.

The Secretary of War is an extraordinarily forcible writer. His public papers are remarkable for striking statements. The "reprimand" is directed by the President and the General's explanation is "not satisfactory." The first article of regulations governing the army, is quoted as follows:

"Deliberations or discussions among military men conveying praise or censure or any mark of approbation towards others in the military service . . . are prohibited."

That is the way it stands, and General Miles did not seem to have it fresh in his mind. However, everybody else said the same Miles did.

Senator Foraker approved Dewey's decision and announced President Roosevelt as his candidate for the Presidency in 1904, and that seems to cover the whole ground. The best point Secretary Root makes, is that the Army had not been involved in the "unfortunate and bitter controversy" in the Navy Department. That is well taken if there is any difference of opinion about the Navy matter in the Army. In the last sentence of the reprimand, the Secretary of War gives a bit of that fervid form of expression of which he is a master:

"It is of no consequence on whose side your opinion was, or what it was. You had no business in the controversy and no right, holding the office which you did, to express any opinion. Your conduct was in violation of the regulations above cited and the rules of official propriety; and you are justly liable to censure, which I now express."

In regard to the second letter of General Miles, there is an edged instrument used in the P. S. as follows:

"P. S.—Your second letter of explanation, dated to-day, received since the above was written, does not change the case. The necessity for repeated explanations but illustrates the importance of the rule which you have violated."

As for involving the Army in the naval conflict, concerning which Secretary Root expresses fear, it is to be related that during the time the army was involved at Santiago for several days' severe fighting, the Navy did not become very much involved in aiding the army—nothing done at any rate that risked an iron clad, and in the language of the President "the man chosen" as Commander-in-Chief of the American fleet, was "timid about taking risks," and did not disobey orders, but fell into "the dangers" the President described, as "of precisely the contrary character"—that is of obeying under stress of high responsibility timid orders, instead of taking telling risks.

We are not stating or leading up to an inference, that we have found an inaccuracy or inconsistency in the compliments the President has paid Admiral Dewey, because he has not agreed with him in all things. On the contrary, what the President once said to the Admiral, that he was selected for command of a remote squadron because he would not obey the orders of absentees, whose

information might be defective, is one of the things it was precisely proper in the President to say, for the reason it was true, and in the highest degree consistent with the heroic discharge of duty.

Captain William McKinley took a risk in disobeying an order on a battle field in the Shenandoah valley, when on General Crook's staff; and if Admiral Schley was disobedient when perfectly informed, or, knew better than to do as he was told, was a risk that he took as a hero; and a perfunctory finding that he disobeyed an order, may cause an unpleasant sensation and yet inflicts no reproach that is a stain. Here is the significance of the dismissal of the historian who pronounced Admiral Schley "a coward and a catiff." That act of the President is a slap in the face of those artificers of intrigue that have caused scandal.

The President's message to Congress announces a policy of novelty in both Army and Navy, and consists in drilling the regular troops in masses, and putting into the drill, instruction that covers embarkation and disembarkation. In the Navy there is to be hard work done. We have the ships and guns, and the crews, and the ironclads had better be put to risks on stormy seas, iron clad or not, and worn out in the service rather than to rust out in harbors, or be polished and preserved as elegant and costly toys, to illustrate that—

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
When wealth accumulates, and men decay."

There was at least one unquestionable impropriety in the Navy Department and that the maintenance of the "historian," Maclay, as a "laborer" in the Brooklyn Navy yard, from which he sent the proof sheets of his toil to the home guard at the "concurrent" department. The President ordered the decorative "co-laborer" removed.

The name of this belabored citizen is Maclay, and the correspondence is too curious to omit.

"Office of the General Storekeeper, Navy Yard, New York, December 24, 1901.—John R. Procter, President Civil Service Commission—Sir: On December 23 (yesterday) I received the following communication from the Secretary of the Navy:

"Sir: I am directed by the President to ask Edgar S. Maclay, special laborer, general storekeeper's office, Navy Yard, New York, to send in his resignation.

"'JOHN D. LONG, Secretary.'

"This communication was addressed to the commandant of this Navy Yard and was duly forwarded to me. I desire to get an authoritative opinion from the Civil Service commission on the following points:

"First—Has the President of the United States any authority, under the laws governing civil service, to demand the resignation of a civil service employee in the classified list?

"Second—Has the President the authority or power to cause the dismissal of any civil service employee without preferring charges in writing and giving said employee an opportunity in which to make a defense?

"EDGAR S. MACLAY."

To this the commission replied as follows:

"Dec. 26, 1901.—Mr. Edgar S. Maclay, Office of the General Storekeeper, Navy Yard, New York, N. Y.—Sir: The commission is in receipt of your letter of December 24, 1901, asking its opinion upon the following questions:

"'Has the President of the United States any authority, under the laws governing civil service, to demand the resignation of a civil service employee in the classified list?

"'Has the President the authority or power to cause the dismissal of any civil service employee without preferring charges in writing and giving said employee an opportunity in which to make a defense?"

"In response you are informed that it is contrary to the practice of the commission to undertake to answer hypothetical questions. Your separation from the service, according to the facts in your case, as they appeared in the public press, was made upon the order of the Secretary of the Navy, in whom the power of removal rests. The demand of your resignation, followed by your removal, upon the direction of the President, through the Secretary of the Navy, was not in violation of the civil service act and rules, in view of the well-known facts in your case.

"The object of the rule requiring notice and a hearing was to prevent political removals or removals upon secret charges. No issue of this kind is involved in your case.

"JOHN R. PROCTER, President."

President Procter, of the Civil Service Commission, also gave out the following statement bearing upon the case:

"The commission has always held, as shown in its thirteenth report, January 1, 1897:

"'The civil service act did not intend that incompetent persons should be retained in office. The authority of removal and its exercise for proper reasons are necessary for the discipline and the efficiency of the public service. The power of removal is not affected by the law or the rules, further than that they provide that removals shall not be made for political or religious reasons.'

"The rule of the President, July 27, 1897, requiring that a person should only be removed for just cause, and upon reasons in writing, and after an

opportunity for making answer, was for the purpose of preventing political or religious removals, or removals upon secret charges, but was in no way intended to curtail the power of removal for just cause.

"Under this rule the reasons for a removal are to be a matter of record, but it does not impair in the slightest degree the prompt exercise of the power of discipline. In discussing this rule in the fourteenth report of the commission, December 31, 1897, it is stated that 'if the reasons are sufficient the officer will not hesitate to make the removal.' It cannot be asserted that Maclay's removal was for political or religious reasons or upon secret charges, as the reason for the department's action is well known, both to Maclay and to the public."

It will be noticed that Secretary Long was not severe with Maclay—stating he was "directed by the President to ask." That did not risk an iron clad. Maclay stuck to his place until he heard from the Civil Service Commission, and then continued to go to the yard until he was summarily discharged. This was on the day after Christmas. The laboring historian put in an appearance as usual at the Navy Yard prepared to resume his duties. Pay Director Putnam went to Maclay's desk, read him the telegram of dismissal received from Washington, told him that he was dismissed. Maclay left the yard immediately.

This laboring man seems to be the only one that wants a personal quarrel with the President. We presume this appeals to the sense of humor of the President. Maclay is the apple of the eye of the corner in the Navy Department that has managed the Schley case, and the suffering in that quarter seems to be deep. This might as well be allowed to end the case.

There appeared on the day after the closing scene, a pathetic story of the condition of Admiral Sampson. John B. Weeks, of Champaign, Illinois, publishes this letter from the Admiral's wife:

"Washington, D. C., Dec. 23, 1901.—My Dear Mr. Weeks: Admiral Sampson is too ill to really understand your most kind letter, just received, but if he were well he would wish to thank you for it, he cares so much for all 'old times' and for anything that concerns Palmyra.

"The wording of your letter shows that living in the West has not blinded your eyes to the truth concerning recent events. I have enjoyed your expression of the true facts as you understand them.

"My dear husband is quite worn out with a long life of concentrated duty. Physically he is comfortable and happy, but the brain is tired beyond ever being rested.

"ELIZABETH BURLING SAMPSON."

It is stated this letter was written in "reply to a note expressing sympathy with the Rear Admiral in the personal annoyances he has suffered in the controversy with Rear Admiral Schley."

The fact that Admiral Sampson was infirm, suffering from nervous disease, has for sometime been largely known. He was treated by Admiral Schley, and his counsel and friends, with the most delicate consideration and respectful attention. No one has forgotten that the Admiral in his youth was a hero, and went down with his ship in Charleston Harbor, and that right or wrong in the unhappy controversy over the varied Santiago strife, he should not when his strength has failed, be held to a rigorous accountability for the errors of others. The truth is not according to the testimony, that he is broken in health on account of the Santiago nightmare, but that the origin of the difficulty was that the strain upon him caused the eccentric incidents, that have prevented the just division of honors, as Admiral Schley said, "honors enough for all." History will approve the saying and award the division and both admirals will be gratefully remembered in the record that final public opinion will bestow.

The position of the President is that of seeing both sides of the question, and in heated terms of contention, the judicial attitude seems to those under the influence of personal and local excitement, in disregard of the temperature of the combatants.

Rear Admiral Schley appealed to the President from the findings of the Court of Inquiry, and asked the President to set aside the endorsement of the Secretary of the Navy of the findings, and approve the individual opinion of the presiding member of the court, in which he said:

"Commodore Schley was the senior officer of our squadron off Santiago when the Spanish squadron attempted to escape on the morning of July 3, 1898. He was in absolute command and is entitled to the credit due such commanding officer."

Admiral Sampson retired February 9, 1901, having reached the age limit of active service. The Army and Navy Journal states, on the authority of the Admiral's physicians, that "his mind is not clear, and he can not move around without the support of an attendant;" and his case is with authority pronounced "extremely critical."

During a trip West and South from Charleston to Chicago, and again South, Admiral Schley was constantly received by the public with enthusiasm, and very strongly stated his purpose to keep out of politics.

The President's friends very largely do not have the pleasure of agreeing with him in his review of the Schley-Sampson Santiago case. He is right in saying the action of the American fleet destroying that of the Spaniards was a "captains' battle," and Schley, whatever is said of the signals, was in front and Sampson was last in the procession. It was not the merit of the one ahead to

be there, or the fault of the other to be in the rear. Sampson, technically in command, was far out of the fight. The word "technical" should be used in respect to the "loop" that is charged so seriously to Schley. The loop Sampson made in running up the coast when the fight was over, was a longer one, and avoided the opportunity of the occasion. Sampson's ever present idea was that the Spanish fleet must be plugged up in the harbor. The true hopefulness was that the Spaniards should come out, to be, as it was, destroyed; and the Spanish guns at the mouth of the harbor were over-rated. Sampson's caution under Navy Department orders did not permit him to strike a blow in aid of the army. Blanco's technical command that the fleet should go out, was the breakage of the monotony. The American fleet was more than twice as powerful as that of the Spaniards, and the only hope Cervera had of getting away was to damage the Brooklyn, and run to Cienfuegos or around the West end of Cuba to Havana.

The alleged "misstatements" of Schley were technical, and the disobedience of orders also. The President gives him credit for what he "did in the fight," and his share of the glory of it will not be affected. It is what one does in the fight that counts. The paper of the President is pervaded by a spirit of showing fair play all around, and an anxiety to close the subject. There has been the official bearing of the Navy constantly to regard as an influence, and there has been duly considered, and properly, the illness of Sampson, and the remembrance of his gallant service when a young man, and his great and useful scientific attainments and personal accomplishments. All these things have plead for him, and there is to be added the public sense that he was in hard luck that fateful morning, to have been called away to consult Shafter at Siboney. The broad truths of history must take into account the fact of the extreme cautiousness of the Navy Department after Theodore Roosevelt left the "technical" citadel of the Navy for activity in the Army.

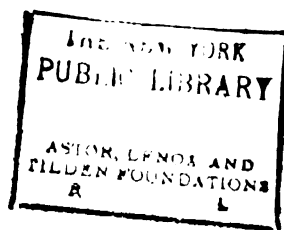
July 8th, five days after the Spanish fleet was burned and sunk, Blanco cabled to the War Minister at Madrid, General Correa:

"The army, always ready for any sacrifice for the sake of the nation, remains intact up to the present time, and is still full of spirit, for it is maintaining itself in Santiago de Cuba with vigor."

The dispatch continued in boastful terms to laud the Spanish army and promise the continuance of the fighting ashore.

Admiral Sampson, after the Spanish ships that left the harbor had been put out of the combat, was still afraid that more ships would get out, as if that was not the thing exactly to be prayed for. He said as a reason for ordering the Indiana to turn back to watch for more Spaniards:

"There are still some armed vessels remaining in the harbor of Santiago—at least two, and we did not know then how many more—which could have





SITTING-ROOM AT OYSTER BAY

come out in the fleet and produced great havoc among the troopships, which were defenseless in the absence of an armed vessel."

The *Heraldo* of Madrid, August 22nd, 1898, published the report of Cervera. He says the Brooklyn was "on account of her speed the vessel most dreaded" and when the departure was effected, "we steered the pre-arranged course."

The Spanish Office of Naval Intelligence published the diary of Lieutenant Jose Muller y Tejeiro, second in command of Naval forces of the province of Santiago de Cuba.

"July 4. Opposite the mouth of the harbor, the New York, Brooklyn, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minneapolis, Vesuvius, one yacht and seventeen merchant vessels. At eight P. M. the cruiser *Reina Mercedes* started up. As the interior of the harbor did no longer have the safeguard of the fleet, as the *Bustamente* torpedoes (six of them) had been taken up so that the fleet could go out and had not yet been replaced, and as, finally, the first line of mines no longer existed, the commander of marine decided—General Toral also being of his opinion—to sink the *Mercedes* (the only ship that was suitable for that purpose) in the narrow part of the channel; consequently the command of the cruiser received orders to do so."

The sinking of the *Mercedes* did not close the harbor. Here it appears the door was open to the helpless city, and Sampson, though the New York and Oregon were amply able to answer for the Colon, hastened to overtake the Colon, when the battle was over and lost the hours when he could have entered the harbor and placed the city under the guns of the fleet, compelling immediate and unconditional surrender.

The *Mercedes* was a damaged ship, the boilers given out and her effective guns sent ashore. The Atlantic Squadron had suspended over it the apprehensive home rule order that our war boats must not be risked. That was not so when Roosevelt was in the Navy Department.

"Washington, February 25, 1898.

"Dewey, Hong-Kong:

"Secret and confidential. Order the squadron, except *Monocacy*, to Hong-Kong. Keep full of coal. In the event of declaration of war, Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast, and then offensive operations in Philippine Islands. Keep *Olympia* until further orders.

ROOSEVELT."

The President has helped Admiral Schley to justice in this: He has wiped out the vulgar imputations of cowardice, and the fabric of that sort of falsehood, and he has relieved Sampson as well as Schley from the coveted pinnacle of the command in chief in action. He has said little of matters of which it was unnecessary to speak. Fame is not a tender plant and is especially the growth not of official judgment, but of public opinion.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OUR COUNTRY'S GREAT HEREAFTER.

The Settled Issues—Burning Questions of the Future—After the Problems, the Premiership of the Nations Is Ours—The Competency of the President to Guide Us on the Way.

THERE have been evidences for a considerable number of years that the Republican party has taken up the reformation of Civil Service Reform, as one of the paramount issues before the country. A respectful reference, at least, to this, found its way into nearly all the platforms bearing the Republican stamp. It was regularly included to a great extent in the perfunctory paragraphs "relegated," as the Free Traders said, when they nominated Horace Greeley for the Presidency, "to Congress." This relegation was as clever a style of open indifference, and notice that while officially advertised, the doctrine that patronage was out of politics was not yet proclaimed as fundamental law, as could have been contrived. The author of "relegating" a convention's despair to Congress was one of the most obstinate free traders the country has produced; and he has been for a time in the habit of being driven into the Democratic party, as far as a gold Democrat could go under the inspiration and urgency of forcible organization.

It has been the binding band of the Republican party, that there is real and ever present danger the Democratic party will get into power, without the slightest regard for the policy it might adopt, the force of it being in the passion for the spoils to go to the victors. The most effective cry the Democracy has had has been, that the country needed a new set of books—rather of book-keepers; and the Grand Army of Administration to be subordinated to the party, and, therefore, to be enlarged by the extension of the functions of all Departments of the Government.

The Republican party has been unfortunate in the Southern States. It is not the fault of the party, but a fatality. If the color question could be removed, the South would be as solidly Republican as it is solidly Democratic. The South contains, in the everlasting hills and sunlit fields of North America, the elementary material for manufactures. Texas comes in with oil. Coal and iron ore are found, side by side, in extraordinary quantity and of excellent

quality, in the State of Alabama—the State whose name is always first called on the roll of the States in the National conventions. That form of premier-ship is, however, an alphabetic happening. There are also respects in which Alabama has other distinctions than those of alphabetical, mineral and agricultural resources, and beauty of name. What they are is signified to the country by the records of the venerable men, her United States Senators. Mr. Morgan is one of the foremost Americans in Americanism.

West Virginia has the coal to furnish the supply for all the lands once the seat of the Roman Empire, whose imperialists destroyed the forests all around the Mediterranean Sea; and it will be left to us at no remote day to carry on, out of our stupendous abundance, the coal trade that has been an English monopoly since London sought to rule all the seas. The English mines are too deep, and the Atlantic ocean too narrow for the British islands to continue to compete with us successfully. With ships of steel, with steam for donkey engines only, with freight that is not harmed by voyages, coal obtained from mines that deliver it on cars by the attraction of gravitation, we do not need to husband our fuel that is taken from the ground, out of merciful foresight reaching to many millenniums, for it can be only a few centuries before our inventors will burn water with electricity, or find our fuel exclusively in some of the elements of the atmosphere, or some equivalent miracle, and still there will be a coal and steel trade.

The States that were more or less interested in the Southern Confederacy, which was as great an economical as it was a political and military misapprehension, have a larger interest in the protection of American industry, "Protection and Reciprocity," as understood and announced by James G. Blaine and William McKinley, than New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The advocates of the policy of protecting our markets for our skilled laborers, they then to win markets abroad by the superiority of their products, now when Henry Clay's American policy is vindicated, have to encounter the consolidated opposition of the Southern South on account of the location of the bulk of the colored population. This should not be an inherent and perpetual obstruction when neither section is responsible for the slave immigration and black population, or willing to permit the dominance in any State of the black race. The absence of real danger of such an event prevents the question from passing from one of inner heat to outward conflagration.

The National element of the country, so far as embodied in the Republican party, was beguiled by the glittering and ponderous essays of experimental undertakings into the XVth Constitutional Amendment. Statesmanship instead of theory—the sunshine instead of the moonlight wisdom—would have counseled strict adherence to the XIVth Amendment, with its restricted apportionment, instead of forcing a complication of "manhood suffrage" unrestrained,

that has made nullification easy. There is that which makes and mends, and breaks and bends Constitutions, for the most serious and sacred papers have not inherent force of execution, nor is there immortality in their veneration.

If we had the Southern strength that belongs to the National cause of protective reciprocal Republicanism, we could take hold of other matters of a momentous nature that await opportunism, with immediate confidence in security. The stability of the Republican administration of Republican Government, needs the application of this stalwart common sense. The law that has not perpetual public opinion to sustain and demand enforcement, whether repealed or not, fades out, and the law lapses though still in the statute book.

The sentiment for Civil Service reform has been strong, healthy and steadily increasing, but repeatedly embarrassed by Presidents who saw in the enforcements of the rules and regulations of the reformation, as outlined by its advocates, the beginning of a Dynasty for their officeholders, and there was temptation in the increase of life office appointments. There has been no President unready to try the system by giving the start of it to his own appointees. Presidential co-operation can be counted upon for the perpetuation of preferences of our successive Chief Magistrates; and, naturally, the members of Congress have been called to the assistance of the power, to "pick out" the "good men;" when, as President Roosevelt says, not literally, of course—there is a class of good men more hateful than any sinners! Congressional partnership in Civil Service reform "limited," is very real in the Senate, which had the substance of solid things in the capacity of confirming or rejecting the officials of the Great Hereafter. The policy of the courtesy of the Senate rests upon this.

It is agreeable to remember that when Theodore Roosevelt was Commissioner of the Civil Service and William McKinley a member of the House of Representatives, they were in agreement in the matter of reform of the Civil Service, the Commissioner publicly speaking officially of the co-operation of the Representatives in Congress. There was proof in this mutual consideration of the sincerity of both men, and it was as certainly as reciprocity in McKinley's mind when he was elected to a second term and stricken by an assassin. Neither McKinley nor Roosevelt had the appointing or confirming power, when they stood side by side for the Civil Service law, and took their places together solely for conscience and duty's sake. The business of betterment began seriously with Harrison's appointment of Roosevelt as Commissioner. Where he sat was the head of the table, and McKinley in Congress gave his support to the man and the law. Mr. Cleveland's good will for the movement appeared in his continuance of Roosevelt, who retired when he had accomplished all permitted by the circumstances, and he hastened on to other fields. He was as sagacious in quitting a task at the right time as in helping

a cause. He did not hammer cold iron, but struck when it was hot, and even was able to give Mr. Cleveland assurances of his relentless seriousness and perseverance in the straight path, without concern as to personal comfort, and they acted with the concert of mutual respect and tolerance for differences.

The opposition President Roosevelt has to encounter in progressive development of the Civil Service movement is from the Privileged Persons of the confirming Senate, as also of the Appointing House. The President must see to drawing the line in the classification, as it were, or he allows the movement to which he has given so much care and labor, to permit the burlesque of an established, above the law, higher class, largely composed of incompetents, the favorites of patrons going up head, passing the candidates who, according to specifications of examination, are successful on their merits. It would be a poor excuse for a law or policy, if so flagrant a pretense as this were permitted. President Roosevelt would not be himself if he consented to surrender his prerogative, and countenanced a class representation of dictatorship of patronage. In no other form could degradation of the Civil Service be more offensive. It would be something more than open sale and the only thing that could be worse.

It may be well to consider as a fixed fact that President Roosevelt will not concede to Congressmen of any grade the perquisite of making him an object of blandishment or victim of flattery, and if there is to be a conflict of jurisdiction, that will have to happen; and at last we may have for a time a change of issues. The strength of the Republican party will appear in the ability to be in earnest about Reciprocity and Protection, hand in hand, and the elevation of the Civil Service, according to the law and the testimonials of the records of what has been done.

A tenderness has been for some time noticed in the Republican ranks that are of an official nature, directly or indirectly, through patronage, as to risking the grasp upon the highest places of managers of the conventional and electoral delegates from the far South States. They are well understood to be important in nominations for the Presidency. It would be the plan of operations against a Presidential candidate before the people, if there was a Congressional Cabal raised against him—if he had disarmed himself in the South—by refusing to make unfit appointments in the classified Civil Service way of saying it, to prevent a continuance of that kind of Executive Administration, by arranging a solid South against him in the National Convention. Several times have been noticed a line of cleavage slightly opened and threatening an abyss between two groups of States—one the solid Republican, and the other the solid Democratic commonwealths, as votes are cast and counted. Repeatedly the reproach has been put upon Presidents, desiring nomination for elections of continuance, that the bulk of their reliable support in the conventions was reliably

against them in the Electoral College, that the majority of Republicans could be beaten by machinery. The custom has been for the votes of the Republican States to win—for the actual will of the party to prevail—but formidable Presidential scaffolding has been erected according to the architecture of dreamers, and the designs of intrigue, the foundations of which were the delegations in Republican Conventions from States certainly Democratic. Experiments enough have been tried to show ambition resting upon this structure is of such stuff as dreams are made.

President Roosevelt has been well instructed by his own investigations as to the "solid" facts in Southern politics, and is aware of the special dangers to be taken into the most constant consideration. If the Democratic party perceives an opening in the Republican ranks that promises a division of the Old Guard, they will hasten to promote it; and there will be a variety of continuous opinion on both sides as to the correct issue to run on for the Presidency. Take up the South, and that which will have weight in that section, and apply measurements. The Southern white people are, of course, against anything they regard as having a flavor of social equality between the black and white races; but they are less liable than the people of the North to misunderstand the colored element in the South. It is not in the South that there will be offered antagonism to the good appointments, in the mind of the President so momentous. There will not be a discrimination by President Roosevelt in favor of illiteracy and incompetency in the selection of Federal officers. We are secure on that skirmish line, at least. The color line will not be drawn in favor of color, neither will that line be drawn against white men, on account of color, "or previous condition" of rebellion or servitude.

The Civil Service policy of President Roosevelt is something grounded in his manhood—a part of his life, the auspicious beginning of his career, his hope and pride. He will be with it indomitably, as he ought to be, and must be. He can not compromise it in honor, and so it is impossible. His carrying out of the purposes of his predecessor does not mean that he is to sacrifice his sense of personal integrity with the people and responsibility of interpreting them as he understands the conditions of the country, but precisely the contrary.

In this matter President McKinley was his friend and well-wisher, and gave the Civil Service details less attention than can be expected now, because he had an overwhelming load of responsibility to carry. As War President he could not give his strength to peace measures, other than as they affected the financial and industrial interests. It was enough to have won a war without a defeat, and to see the triumph of his principle of protection in unparalleled, popular prosperity. Not once in a century does a man witness such triumphs as he in his undemonstrative way enjoyed. His last public utterance—his last words, save those that have given his death bed sanctity and are known to man-

kind—for when he died he was the foremost man of all this world, and the human race was his audience. His farewell address at Buffalo countenanced an advanced movement, looking to an adjustment of certain custom duties. Protection had done its work well, and Reciprocity was to be taken up, not to cast Protection aside, or to in the least undervalue it, but to be supported by proceeding on the lines of its logic, and perfected in its rounded-out application.

A great deal was accomplished by President McKinley in his Administration toward the union of hearts and hands between the North and South. This was not impressive as a novelty, but imposing as an assurance that all was indeed well the country through, that the new developments were not reconstruction so much as restoration. McKinley's aspirations were that the whole country should share the plenty, peace, glory and fame; and this was to be the "consummation devoutly to be wished" that all might be proud of one nationality; and that all the States and we, the people of the old and new United States, were under the roof of Our Father's House, and there all of us equal and feel at home to stay. The Army and Navy had obliterated sectional lines. Confederate Generals had put on the blue, and a long list of Southern heroes glorified the old flag again, and brightened the whole constellation of stars. The reception of President McKinley crossing the Continent by the Southern route, was eventful in the magnificent demonstrations aroused. It was not as protracted a journey as that of the Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall, who visited the Dominions beyond Seas of England, but it told the story of the generation in the pageantry of peace, as well as the splendors of war. When we study the drama of the last year of McKinley's life, we can not escape the thought that he had gone so far and done so much, that the messenger of Death met him at the summit of his ambition. He was loved, honored and obeyed. He had not only the troops of friends becoming age, but all the Nations of the earth respected the records of his statesmanship, the virtues of his life and the serenity of his dignity.

President Roosevelt has been qualified by his experiences and endowments for the guidance of the Government, upon the later questions, that, like himself, have been transformed since the question whether the United States should be one or two countries was submitted to trial by arms.

The party that in 1900 was solicitous to disturb the situation and carry by popular pressure, made some progress in the agitation of certain phases of popular dissatisfaction and development of inflammatory prejudice, but had the misfortune for their adventure to have hindered themselves with a long series of causes that were so lost they seemed to be camping in grave yards.

The protective tariff, denounced as for the few against the many, turned out to be an aid to employment at home, and the people prospered, so that the strongest thing that could be shown countenancing a change, was that the dis-

tribution of the profitableness of the period was not on a basis of equality for individuals. The difficulty was in distribution.

All men knew there was need, more than ever, for laws of our Nation to defend our markets from competition that placed a premium on destitution. If we do not take care of our workingmen, who are at home with us, foreign countries are not far off. Goods may be ordered to-day in Europe by cable, and landed in a week on our shores. The distance between New York and London is not as great as in the time of Washington between the cities of Trenton and Baltimore. Foreign competition is at our doors. The value of our independence was originally largely in ability to protect ourselves, and defense of our skilled labor demands tenfold to-day that which sufficed a century ago. Then the passage of the Atlantic was counted by weeks instead of days.

Our people have had an abnormal terror about the sufficiency of the currency, of the money in the hands and pockets of the people, and there was fanaticism to the effect that it should be worthless intrinsically that it might be abundant. The gold standard was alleged to be impossible without popular impoverishment, because gold was so scarce. That standard fixed, gold was abundant, and the better the quality of the circulating medium, the lower the interest; that is, the cheaper the money in the market, the less the charge made by capital for cash to loan. These issues have passed away. We should remember the facts, but go on to take up that which is not settled.

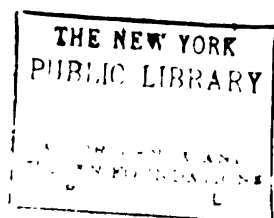
The opposition to the National Administration, in 1904, will not rally on Free Trade or Free Silver. The "problems" first in order will be touching taxation and the civil service; and if the follies of the past are bundled up and strapped on the backs of the opponents of the possessors of power, the people capable of self-government will go on voting as they have been doing, with increasing emphasis and efficacy. The probability is, however, that there will be a serious reconstruction of party lines, and those who propose simple solutions are the more certain to find favor. Disorder will declaim about the phantom of imperialism.

It is preferable to speak of Opposition and Administration in writing history and trying to find the crucial truth of conditions. Changes in the names of parties are unlikely; for parties, however confused, have characters from which they can not rapidly escape, and the partizans are slow to ascertain the advantage of new titles. Events teach. There are laws made other than those passed by legislative bodies, and duly signed. Legislative bodies are behind the sentiments of the people, and that it is so, is conservatism.

The party in possession desires to hold that which it has, and there are certain works, clearing of decks for action of the ship of State, that carries the flag of the Commander-in-Chief, in good time; to arm with the best guns and train men to make the music of victory. The death of McKinley and the



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT WITH PRESIDENT HADLEY OF YALE, LEADING THE ACADEMIC
PROCESSION AT BI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION



accession of Roosevelt to the Presidency, have brought the next Presidential campaign within the horizon. When the long session of the first Congress which Roosevelt met with a great message, is at an end, the campaign will be opened, not with stump speaking, but with careful calculations, and possibly the rectification of certain ancient and imperfect alignments.

The Protective Tariff system does not foster monopoly, but there are duties levied not in the general interest, and the friends of the protective policy, should disabuse the honest men who seek truth, of the feeling that there are too many tariff supporters, who wish to multiply motives for activity beyond the demands of the general good. There is no better test of the correctness of an item of Protection than that it is in harmony with Reciprocity. Hold on to Protection, and expand commerce by conceding inducements to those who desire, with us, not free, but fair trade. McKinley's farewell address will assure liberal consideration of the increase of the areas of freedom.

There is another rush that comes down upon us like a dusty wind. It is that the Government is not doing enough for the people. Consciousness that a change is needed caused assumption that surely the Government should do something. The real thing needful is to find that the Government already takes too much upon itself. Shall we arrange for a standing army of at least one million men? It is earnestly pressed upon attention that the Government of the Nation should own and operate the telegraph, the trolley, the telephone, the railroads, the steamers, the street cars of all sorts, and that the Postal service should be vastly increased, and the free delivery extended; and that there is to be something done is not improbable. If we had a Civil Service army of one million in uniform, there would be a louder call for two million men than for one, and there would be strife for classification. The municipal governments would each, under this system, have a standing army; and if there is ever one standing stronger than the people, it will be of this kind. The means are for an official class large enough to compete with the people at large as to the location and identification of the ruling capacity.

The greater question is that of taxation. Mr. "Tom" Johnson succeeds Mr. Henry George as a single taxer, meaning the land has made war upon railroads, because they are not taxed upon full valuation. The taxation of farm land is not upon valuation equal to the market price. There is, in intimate relation with this, the question of taxing franchises. There are also questions, many and momentous, of labor legislation.

Those who read the chapters of this volume about President Roosevelt showing the deep interest he has taken in these themes, the intent watchfulness with which he regards every appearance of them in legislation, have a surprise in store when ascertaining how thoroughly and how far he

goes to favor the taxation and limitation of the time of franchises, all the while resisting the Goths and Vandals of Barbarian Demagogy. He meets the questions arising with the same spirit in which he took hold of the Civil Service, and helped the system out of the woods.

It is not true, as writers who desire to cultivate credulity in phenomena, and to exploit the mystical, stick to it, that the President was resolved from infancy to be President. It is true that he has shown remarkable acumen in dealing with the issues that will be uppermost in the next Presidential election, and that there could not be found a more conservative and yet progressive and popular candidate.

The President's view of the qualities needed by public men is admirably expressed by him in the words following:

"There is much less need of genius or of any special brilliancy in the administration of our Government than there is need of such homely virtues and qualities as common sense, honesty and courage. There are very many difficult problems to face, some of which are as old as government itself, while others have sprung into being in consequence of the growing complexity and steadily increasing tension of our social life for the last two generations. It is not given to any man, or to any set of men, to see with absolutely clear vision into the future. All that can be done is to face the facts as we find them, to meet each new difficulty in practical fashion, and to strive steadily for the better both of our civic and our social institutions."

Mr. Roosevelt, alone among the public men of the highest rank, exercises the freedom of speech that he employs about the questions that may be termed extra-hazardous, when naked eyes discover prospects that are pleasing, and friends are so sure the waiting policy is the winning one; that silence, at least, is not unwise, and caution preserves chances; but such a course could not be taken by the man whose peace as well as war measures are to go to the front, and who was far forward in the thorn bushes when the invisible fire of the foe filled the air with the weird singing of what seemed far flying insects whose sting was death. No man with the audience he has had since his baptism of fire, has taken hold of the superheated questions with the grasp that he has, holding them high before the people. The tendency of discussion was to bewilder rather than search with light that burns. The truth had no terrors for him and he told it. Proposed remedies for injustice were discussed with fearlessness, force and precision. He has drawn the line of demarkation between that which would help and the harmful. This is most conspicuous in the trust question, for that is the issue about which, as a rule, the most is said, and the least told.

The proposals to deal with trusts, on one hand refers them to Congress; and on the other, to the States. The relegation to some other body is a

game that does not remove the evils that are the source of complaints; and it arouses the alarms of industrial warfare. Naturally, the popular impulse is to look to the Nation as the authority—the highest and the most comprehensive. This is not so plain in the advocacy of national proceedings, as when another course is commended.

The suggestion has been made that the trust manufactured articles should be admitted from other countries without duty. The first objection is, it is to try the cure of sending abroad for that which we manufacture at home, because our home manufacturers have been anxious for dividends. It means less work for consumers, and more to pay for trust products—except those made by foreigners. That is, to offer a premium to destroy protection. The fact is not taken into account that a great many “combinations” mean partnership between our manufacturers and those of foreign countries. The usual way is one house in a manufacturing State, and one in England, Germany, France, or other European country. The effect would be to banish home manufacturing, while the same old trusts profit through the foreign branch! Our capital would thus be sent out of the country, and get the accustomed advantage of the market. Our working men, unable to emigrate, would be idle. The remedy for the trust, by State action, as nearly as has been made plain, consists of the formation of a vigorous constabulary to arrest the transportation of trust articles on the frontier; that is, the State line! All freight trains would have to be held up and thoroughly examined whenever a State line is reached; and each railroad station on or near a State boundary, would become a custom-house and require a guard. Manufactures not abolished would be fettered to the several States. Commerce would be impeded, and a standing army established. There could not be imagined a broader road, going by a steeper declivity to ruin, than this amazing system of restriction.

The dissolution of the Union, as proposed by State action in 1860, would have been, if it had succeeded, a less destructive form of converting our country into chaos than this. Military Imperialism thus forced would have been the only bond of union, while the civil servants of the Government, would have outnumbered the conscripted soldiery mustering abroad bayonets by the million.

A “Veteran Observer,” the Writer, has had a large acquaintance with the History Makers for half a century, during which his occupation has been the study and discussion of current events from day to day. He has witnessed amazing changes in men, measures and methods, and it seems to him the Man pre-eminently prepared for the leadership of the people of the United States, in the great, swift years of the accomplishment of the visible National Destiny, is our President, Theodore Roosevelt. He personifies the advocacy

of the complete establishment of a business Civil Service in the Nation, the States, the Towns and the Municipalities, the fair treatment of all men born with "certain inalienable rights;" the endowment of the people of all the States with the new possessions, won by the sword and fixed by treaty, including the islands of the seas around us to be held sacred as the foundations the Fathers laid, and cemented with blood and iron; the strengthening of our Army and Navy, for the sake of Peace and Good Will to Men; that we shall employ our ample resources for the preservation of the forests and fertilization of the fields of the Central Lands of the Continent, that need only the water falling on our mountains in the vast West, shall find channels through the deserts, that they may bloom at the touch of the streams; and alongside this miracle of life, provide for the promotion of commerce by the joint policy of Protection and Reciprocity; this that the increase of the products of our industries shall find markets at home and abroad, and we may be prosperous in fortune as in situation, and resourceful equal to our strength, realizing that we have the Opportunity of the Primacy of the Great Powers, and, with enlightened effort, the certainty of it.

The conservatism of President Roosevelt could not, under any conceivable circumstances, mean stagnation. The maxim "leave well enough alone" is uttered as a caution against the indiscretion of impetuosity. A precaution against growth would serve notice of decay.

The message of President Roosevelt to Congress is one of the most conservative of the whole series of messages and is all around caretaking and progressive. The ideas of reviving reciprocity as Blaine understood it, advanced almost simultaneously by McKinley and Roosevelt, meant that the principle of protection was safe; that it is no more an issue, and should be held as the broad base of a mighty structure, the outlines already drawn by the increase of our export trade of manufactured articles, as well as products of mining and agriculture. Not only is protection established, the gold standard of money has come to stay; and each day vindicates that of all victories of the industrial people for themselves, it is the most important for the wage-earner, and the strongest defense of the producers of value against the arts of money changers. The merit of gold is that it is the closest approximation to the unchangeable standard. It not only betters money, but cheapens it in loans, and provides most amply for the greater abundance of stable currency. So much is settled. The Monroe Doctrine is the law of our hemisphere. It will be neither extended nor disturbed, and works for peace, not for war. Opposition to American expansion in territory never was in form to better the Republic; and the policy of extension is as victorious as protection and as prophetic as reciprocity.

The answer to the imperialism illusion, is found in the peremptory declaration of the President, that our army is not to be enlarged in numbers, but increased in efficiency by special training, so that our military power may be multiplied by three, without augmentation of expenditure. The President has put his stamp of ardent, urgent progression upon the navy; and instead of telegrams that ironclads must not be risked, we shall have orders that our warships should be worn out with ceaseless activity and instead of resting and rusting in harbors shall roll in the stormy seas. A new theme of enormous interest shines from the message—it is to preserve the forests, purify the water, irrigate the arid lands. In the swiftly coming on Great Hereafter, our land and waters in the North American Continent will be the centre of the Earth.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SUGGESTION OF OPPOSITION.

The Senate and Cabinet as Factors—Is a Senator a Boss, or a Secretary a Clerk?—Anarchists Criticize Roosevelt—How to Make Them Harmless—Strength of Roosevelt's Position—His Denunciation of Dynamiters—His Methods of Politics—Holds Friendship of the Disappointed—Some Sorrows of the Old Guard—Representative Character of the President.

THE natural expression of the opinion of the people of a country who govern themselves, is in Administration and Opposition parties. The division into those substantially for and against the Government, is the simplest form of the people's rule.

Party organizations, to have endurance beyond the terms of office of the chief functionaries, must, at least, begin with the formulation of principles. Hence, party meetings, addresses, platforms. Parties through outliving terms of official service, rise and fall. It is well if they appear and disappear, with the new issues that become, in the popular name, "problems." The parties that endure longer than the organizers, must have purposes that take shape in policies.

President Roosevelt was speaking with the candor that is one of his highest distinctions, when he took the oath of office as President, his purpose to carry out the McKinley policy. There was the note of complete sincerity in his invitation to the Cabinet officers to remain and not pass through a ceremony of resignation.

There was wisdom in the clinching strength of the President's declarations. They were from his heart and head. The country held him responsible, however, knowing the basis of continuance of the lines drawn by the President, so horribly assassinated, was in the equal confidence in the candidates nominated for President and Vice-President in the Philadelphia Convention. The people were not unmindful of the agreement of the two men first in pre-eminent representative places in the Government, appearing in the Minneapolis speech of Roosevelt, September 2nd, and the Buffalo speech of McKinley, September 5th. We name the utterances in the order of the time of delivery. The concert is the more striking because the Vice-President was three days before the

President, in the words that defined a common purpose, and there had been no communication between them looking to speaking with one voice.

That which happened within four months in two changes in the Cabinet, was not unexpected. The general policy of the Republican party was to be pursued. Still, great changes, not in principle, but in ways and means largely, were unavoidable, for the hands of the President must be free, within the obligations of the Constitution, or the indispensable characteristic individualities wanting. The executive office was not placed by the Fathers in the hands of a committee. A man is foremost and first, and the balances of power are the models of free institutions.

There has been, within recent years, perceptible growth in the functions of Senators, who have—if an expression borrowed from classification in colleges may be applied—placed themselves in the Senior Class. The duty of the Senate to confirm appointments and treaties, has given Senators, by accretion of influence, a share in the appointing power; and the appearance of Senators at the White House, on errands other than pertaining to reformation—rather to appointment and confirmation—have been frequently remarked. It was President McKinley's way to be courteous to all callers. He did not discriminate in a marked degree against those who distinguished themselves by misconstruction of his motives and misrepresentation of his policy. There is a keen self-appreciation by the Senators, and some were apprehensive of the coming of Roosevelt, and pained to think they might have to lead a "strenuous life" that would impair the calm they coveted. However, they found the severe decorum of the Vice-President, in the high chair of the representatives of the States reassuring.

There is another body that has had augmentation of consequence within the generation since the War of the States. It is the Cabinet. General Sherman, taking his place on the stand with President Johnson and his Cabinet, when, he had led the army of the West, that marched to the sea, from the Ohio, and then from Savannah to the Potomac, and across the long bridge, was passing the point of official review, declined to respond to the friendly salutation rendered by Secretary Stanton, on the ground that he did not feel like grasping the hand of a "clerk."

The development of the Senate and the Cabinet, is no more or less than evidence of the increase of the dimensions of the country and its weight in the world. There has been far more for the President to do within the last decade than ever before; and in the multiplicity and magnitude of details of business, the Administration of President McKinley has exceeded all precedent. Never before was it necessary for the attention of the President to be called to make so many decisions of moment—called often from bed in the middle of the night to hear news that he must act upon at once. Telegrams from all

parts of the country, and remote as well as near Nations, simplified but increased his discharge of responsibilities. As an example, study the archives in which tens of thousands of telegrams are found, as they were sent from and received by all the Departments and the squadrons and camps, noting continually the words that are last and count first are from the President, and how promptly they were rendered into orders.

The Cabinet, like the Senate, accept with general satisfaction a large and increasing responsibility. These words apply, not to Cabinet and Senate only, but to both Houses of Congress. The House directly representative of the people is more and more asserting itself, in executive responsibilities and the more carefully this is observed, the more clearly appear the realities of our representative form of Government.

In all Mr. Roosevelt's official positions, and expounded in his books and public addresses, are prominent, his views on all public questions, arisen within twenty years, distinguished by conspicuity before the country. They are notorious and met without faltering. His Administration as Governor is full of unmistakable messages and memoranda, speeches, addresses and records of official acts, touching, not tentatively but trenchantly, all the multitude of questions upon which the President is profoundly busied; and there is not a "problem" before the people, and will not be two years from this, that President Roosevelt has not written about so freely that what he thinks of the solution has been stated frequently and positively. There is hardly an issue that can come up during his Administration of the Presidential office, upon which his consistent course is not marked out in strong English, with no mental reservation, and his officially published papers. The highest testimonials of his fitness for the Presidency are found in his record as Governor.

The man of the few years and many experiences of President Roosevelt—his activity in meeting all responsibilities, his force of character that evolves leadership and broadens opportunity, his aptitude in finding out the vital points in executive decision—we may count without misgiving that Roosevelt will, as President, keep pace with the progress of the country, and gain with the confidence of the people their affection.

The anarchists of America murdered the most kindly man of his time. If their object in dooming McKinley to death was to make an impression by the slaughter of a man without enemies, the gentlest and most lovable of all rulers of men, they made no mistake in the selection of a victim. The murder was absolutely merciless. That in itself is the challenging warning the Republic has received. The President mortally wounded forgave the assassin and was comforted, as he died, by the spirit of resignation and forgiveness. His life was full of love; his death the testimony. President Roosevelt said in his message to Congress, "No man will ever be restrained from becoming Presi-

dent by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the President's life became greater, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder."

The anarchists are much given to writing, and they have secret channels of circulation, for their productions, and know how to seem brave by keeping just out of harm's way. They have been writing to the President—"open letters"—and were good enough to make up a large list of themselves by writing freely to the assassin, executed as soon as the law permitted, in the State of New York. An anarchist sheet is responsible or irresponsible for a letter covering a page, and it is described as a carefully worded note of "warning and defiance." Of course, the anarchist attacks the President's logic. He says of the message:

"While you indulge in profuse abuse of the anarchists, you have in this same document practically admitted one of our fundamental contentions. In the paragraph following the subject of anarchy you say in congratulating the nation on the abounding prosperity that 'such prosperity can never be created by law alone, although it is easy enough to destroy it by mischievous laws.'

Then, again, that "The logical deduction from the passage, that if 'men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder' are desirable as presidents—your attitude leaves us to infer that they are—the best way to place them in office is to assassinate the president as often as possible in order to bring about this result. The anarchist does not hold that assassination will abolish government, but so long as murder is indulged in from the top and misery is rampant in society it is inevitable that such methods will be resorted to occasionally from the bottom."

"The letter is not written," they add, "with the expectation of staying your policy, nor to defy you. It is too much to expect that intelligence will appeal to you; and there is no satisfaction in defying blind prejudice. But understand that neither your prisons nor penal colonies will stop the onward march of our ideas. We would welcome a refuge from all the governments of earth which could be made a real asylum for the outcast and oppressed. But even if you should deport to the most barren rocks the adherents of anarchism, do not think that the dial of progress can be turned back. Persecution will drive from our ranks some few who are unable to stand in the storm—it is not a fact which will be regretted by us. But it will also bring to our ranks those resolute lovers of truth who in all ages have with their own blood fed the lamp of liberty and reason.

"The Paris commune was drowned in the blood of 30,000 human beings, but even today the intelligent proletariat looks back to that grand uprising with inspiration and hope."

In claiming that the communists were anarchists, injustice is done the believers in Commune government, which in Paris is merely that the mob shall own the city and rule France. The letter of the anarchist closes with references to hanging of the Chicago anarchists, saying: "In the words of August Spies, 'We are the birds of the coming storm.'"

Spies was the author of the terrible tirades, that in the form of poster proclamations called for bloodshed in Chicago. He was totally deceived as to the forces he could command, and of the worst type of malignant visionary.

Of the city of Chicago, Colonel Roosevelt, speaking before the latest murder of a President, said:

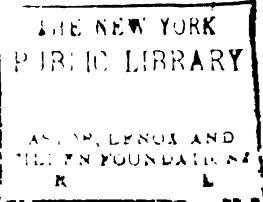
"I am in all my feelings national, and neither local nor sectional, and I am happy to add, parenthetically, I am not in the least cosmopolitan, and it is a pleasure for me to speak to you of Chicago, because Chicago is intensely and typically an American city. Of recent years, Chicago has done two things because of which she deserves well of the whole nation; has put down and punished (even if not altogether adequately) two foul, foreign conspiracies, which were hatched in her midst; dealt with the anarchist dynamite throwers as they deserved and also dealt with, though not as thoroughly as they deserved, the members of a foreign dynamite society, who, on account of a factional quarrel, had murdered an American citizen. I have full faith that any future offenders of the same sort will be visited with even prompter and severer punishment, whether they are found in the ranks of the anarchists on one hand, or of the Clan-na-Gael or some kindred organization, on the other."

This seems to meet the case about as completely and conclusively as possible. The lessons of history are not vague. We have stated of Spies that he was deceived by imperial dreams into the belief that a few dynamite bombs would be sufficient to destroy Empire, but he died on the gallows with a fanatical affectation of triumph, but his death can hardly be an encouraging circumstance.

The error the anarchists have fallen into respecting our Government is one in which they are not alone. They have not come to the understanding that should be common to civilization, to the effect that a Republic is far stronger than a Monarchy to deal with disorder, no matter what the disturbance is called. There is no blotting out a dynasty in this country. The dealing with anarchy by the United States will be infinitely more searching and the punishment more severe and sweeping, than any government in Europe has undertaken. Our troop ships on the Pacific could be used to clear out all the known groups of those who profess destruction as a doctrine, to live by themselves, watched by a gunboat or two, "stewing in their own juice," as Bismarck said of professional disorderlies.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JR.



The President is a peace man in the sense that he is at all times ready to fight for it. One of his sayings is, "It is not sufficient to parry a blow." He who deals a wicked blow should be stricken. It is well to parry, but the better part is to hit back; and when it is to do, hit quick, hard and repeatedly.

He knew what he was saying when he spoke in his message to Congress of the anarchists and gave them notice. The stir in the "groups" shows the shot told, and they are disturbed deeply. Much has been said by the anarchial propaganda, claiming that they are citizens with rights and liberties to conspire against all governments, and in this country there has usually been much said in behalf of government that was ill directed. It is not a frontal attack to say that we need laws to keep out the anarchists. They are with us; the question is what to do with them. The thing practical is that those who are in this country, and clamoring for the liberty of murder, should take their departure. We have islands in Asian seas, the most desolate rocks to be seen anywhere. The barren islands of the tropics are peculiarly forbidding, some of them without trees or the color of verdure, the ragged edges of creation. There are other islands where there are fruit, eatable animals, birds and a chance for the growth of rice. That is, there is a way to make an honest living, making endless seclusion capital punishment, that the foes of all forms of government may teach themselves how to govern themselves or perish in the attempt.

The Chicago anarchists thought armies in the cities could be defeated with a few dynamite shells, and having disposed so easily of the armed forces of government, they organizing universal revolution, proposed to begin by establishing government by "groups of four" all over North America. This continent was to furnish the first example of the conquests of all that is called "law and order" by "groups." The first requirement was secretaries, who could write and speak six languages, and the next was chemists and gas pipes for the home-made bombs needed. The unions of working men were to be destroyed with the rest.

The first thing to be done was the abolishment of the United States; this merely to clear the continent of the principal obstacle to the rule of the brethren. North America was divided into nine sections, each under group government. Canada was number one and Mexico and the rest South was number nine. The United States were dissolved and reconstructed in seven sections. Red and black flags were carried in the streets. Labor as organized was doomed that the wages system might soon be abolished.

Immediately after the death of President McKinley, and the trial and condemnation of Most, who preaches murder, the London Times gave an account of anarchism, that is of the pertinence to the attitude of the disorderlies on this side of the Atlantic, who hold that we defend murder as one of the

political arts of liberty, for the propaganda of the Katapuna Society of blood-suckers and blood shedders in the Philippines. We quote:

"Immediately before the murderous attack on the late President, Most's journal wrote, 'The greatest of all follies in the world is to believe that there can be any crime of any sort against despots and their accomplices.' The article, it would seem from the charge of the judge to the jury in Most's case, was directed to encouraging 'the murder of heads of States,' as a class, which we know to be in accordance with the prisoner's ideas. The absurdity of classing a President of the United States among 'despots' is sufficiently obvious and contemptible.

"M. Zola, whose courageous protests in the cause of justice contributed so much to rivet public attention on the Dreyfus case, has undertaken to defend M. Leon Tailhade's savage appeal to anarchism on its literary merits! M. Zola regards the anarchist editor of the *Libertaire* as 'a poet, thrilling in style and full of illustrations'—among the latter the most conspicuous being Caserio, who killed President Carnot, and who, to the regret of M. Zola's poetic friend, has found no successor to deal with the Tsar, M. Loubet, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, and all the rest of them. But even M. Zola could not find much of the exculpatory 'thrill' of style in the genuine German Grobheit of Johann Most.

"In the language of the *Freiheit*, which so closely and so significantly preceded, and almost predicted, the murder of President McKinley, the doctrines of anarchism are set forth in all their brutal directness, without any of the literary adornments which fascinate M. Zola. There is nothing new in the preaching of Most. More than twenty years ago he was good enough to take up his abode in this country and to spread among us his liberalizing theories. When the Emperor Alexander II. was savagely done to death on March 13, 1881, Most came out, in the next issue of his journal, with a furious shriek of triumph, reproaching the revolutionists of other nations with their lack of courage in failing to follow up the lead of the Russian Nihilists and scoffing at the 'whimpering' of the civilized world over the crime that had shocked humanity. The ruling classes were warned by Most that their doom was sealed, and it was triumphantly proclaimed that they knew it. 'From Constantinople to Washington,' he wrote, 'they tremble for their long-forfeited heads.' For this outrageous production Most was indicted in this country and was convicted by a jury at the Central Criminal Court."

It is in the lines and between the lines, written and spoken as Governor of New York by Roosevelt, that his primary quality is vital earnestness, and it takes the form of thorough going business. He is an American of Americans for the greater America. He is for expansion—that is growth. He is a Civil Service reformer by instinct, cultivation, conscience, combativeness, and a

warlike sense of duty. He is for fairness in taxation, and has been a student of the sentiments of the people and the public wants. He is a party man, of and for the organization. He is not of the Mugwump brain or blood. Of all public men he is the most outspoken. He thinks aloud, for the people, and is wide awake, broad, keen, positive, progressive, and is still a man who acquires, and promises to abide long with us. He deals with corporations with the same acute intensity of justice he desires for men. In his personal relations he is inclined to amiability. He may be a disturber of ignoble peace, but does not quarrel. He dictates. He does not indulge resentments. He is brave, and the brave man is generous.

The rules ordinarily applied to politicians and holders of high office, do not seem to be adapted to the President. He is really a politician, only he plays according to his own rules. He endeavors to follow the wishes of the politicians, Senators and Congressmen, as far as is compatible with his standard and idea as to his duty, but very often he does just what they do not want him to do. He simply will not violate his own conscience. The temptation is not really tempting. He has not time to consider whether he jeopardizes his future. He simply has a higher standard than the average politician. He has confidence that the people will sustain him in doing what he regards as his duty. He is so constituted that he can not take a middle course. He is absolutely right or wrong in every act. There is no compromise of right in his nature. His works are straight from the shoulder, as his words from his lips.

The appointment of Henry C. Payne as Postmaster General, was the shrewdest kind of politics. It secured the services of a keen and experienced politician for his Administration, and, at the same time, of an expert in post-office affairs. Payne's political advice will be invaluable. The appointment of Governor Shaw, of Iowa, as Secretary of the Treasury, is also good politics. Shaw is not a politician in the general acceptance of the word, having entered the game only about five or six years ago, yet he has made himself a force throughout the West and as the champion of gold did much to make that policy popular. He commands confidence in the East and admiration in the West.

The Roosevelt Administration has many unusual characteristics. It is bustling with activity. Following the President's cue, there is little delay nowadays in settling important matters, and there seems to be more vim and vigor in governmental work than was ever known. Gossips see more Cabinet changes in prospect. They insisted that Shaw's appointment meant the retirement of Secretary of Agriculture Wilson, but the President put a stop to that by official announcement. He knows full well how valuable the

Agricultural Secretary is, and that he has done more for the farmer in a practical way than any Secretary who preceded him in the farmers' department.

A letter from Washington, dated on the one hundred and second anniversary of the death of George Washington, is written by a close observer, who professes to state the facts from the point of a trained observer. It is, perhaps, the most carefully drawn statement that has been made:

"Washington, December 14.

"President Roosevelt continues to advance his standard of public service, broadening his rules governing patronage to the great dismay of politicians, some of whom begin to wonder if any active politicians will be permitted to remain in office. While the President is personally popular and greatly respected, politicians do not like his methods and his distinct insistence upon the highest possible merit in public service. They are inclined to regard his theory of government patronage as unpractical, as well as something of an infringement upon their rights. They are asking if there is to be any incentive to partizan endeavor and whence are the workers for party success to come, if the chances of reward are to steadily diminish by the extension of the merit system and the insistence upon mental and moral qualifications, which most active partizans can not meet. They do not believe that the mere belief in principle and the desire to see the party in which one believes succeed, with comparatively little prospect for reward through appointment to office, will be sufficient encouragement to partizans to spend their time and use their strength in working for party success. They insist that there must be taken into consideration the self-interest which so generally prompts partizan activity. They insist that President Roosevelt is setting too high a standard and almost resent his cross-examining them as to the character and capacity of those whom they recommend for office. In fact, they grow apprehensive for fear party machinery may break down for want of an adequate supply of patronage oil, and, at the same time, they are embarrassed in paying personal political debts with patronage, as they have heretofore been enabled to do. Then, too, Senators are somewhat disturbed because, in his determination to be 'President himself,' Theodore Roosevelt insists upon the Presidential prerogative of making his own appointments, regardless of the construction of the constitutional provision authorizing the President to make appointments 'by and with the consent of the Senate,' which has, in years past, caused Senators to insist upon dictating appointments.

"The events of the present week have emphasized and broadened the President's policy as to patronage. His announcement that he will make judicial appointments himself, but be glad of recommendation and advice, is of the highest importance. It means that judicial appointments are not to be used to pay political debts of Senators, and that the President, after consultation

with his Attorney General, will decide who of those presented to him deserves appointment. The President fully understands the necessity of a judiciary of the highest standard and proposes to maintain that standard, even if, by doing so, he seems to prefer one Senator over another. The question of Senatorial influence is not to be regarded, only the question as to what lawyer, no matter by whom recommended, comes nearest to filling the requirements of a federal judge.

"This policy is practically the same as that governing wants, recommendations, military promotions, which was announced some time ago when the President let it be known, to the displeasure of several Senators, that he proposed to make his promotions upon the service records of the officers of the army. And he does not regard seniority in rank as giving preference in making selections for line officers, where the law does not give seniority the call. The question in his mind is as to the fitness and capacity of officers whose names are brought to his attention, and the fact that an officer has youth, with the steadiness and experience which usually comes with age, is rather to his advantage than otherwise. In his message, the President, appreciating that there was some dissatisfaction with this attitude of his, made it stronger by saying that where Senatorial or social influence was exercised in an officer's behalf, it would militate against him.

"In the week, the President has also shown that he will not countenance, much less will he permit interference in, local politics by federal officials, for he has removed several who promoted factionalism by their meddling with local concerns. He does not object to legitimate political activity, to work to promote the success of the party, but he removes, immediately, the officials who promote factionalism. He wants federal officers to attend to their business and make their offices businesslike in every respect. Then, he has several times impressed Senators and Congressmen with his objection to receiving their written recommendations. He knows how easy it is to sign a petition or a letter of recommendation, and that this is so often done to get rid of a persistent applicant or to place the responsibility for failure to secure the office upon the President. President Roosevelt wants recommendations made in person by Senators and Congressmen, and then he interrogates them regarding the men they suggest, and holds them to account for the representations made. Thus an indorsement to Theodore Roosevelt means more than it has heretofore. If, however, he finds that a satisfactory man has not been proposed, he insists upon another being named or selects him himself. The President has astonished Southern Republicans by frequently declining to follow their recommendation; in fact, no Southern Republican organization can claim to have had its recommendations followed by the President, and if a good Republican is not proposed or discovered, he appoints a Democrat

from the South. That may lose him votes from the South in the next National Convention, but, just now, he is not giving consideration to his renomination, and will probably never plan to secure it, being content to know he has done what he deemed right and letting the future care for itself.

"The President has been active in carrying out his theories of Civil Service Reform, extending the classified service over the rural free delivery system and over some places in the War Department, removing officials who have violated the rules and approving rules to make Civil Service Reform more effective in operation. When he appointed William Dudley Foulke as Civil Service Commissioner, he gave notice of his purposes. In the present week important changes have been made in the Civil Service rules that will lessen the temptation to evade them. The Civil Service Commission has now power, in the case of a person holding a position in the Civil Service, in violation of the Civil Service act or rules, to certify to the head of the Department the fact of violation, and if the employee is not dismissed in thirty days, to have his pay stopped. Then, there is to be no transference from one department to another unless the employee has worked six months, and in some position in the classified service. This will prevent the appointment of men with political pull to an unclassified position, their almost immediate transference to the classified service and promotion to a good position, as has been frequently done in the past. Again, the same strict adherence to the merit principle is insisted upon in the Insular Service, so the Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii are not to be dumping grounds for political favorites.

"So high is the President's standard, and so rigidly is it adhered to, that reappointments are decided distinctions, and the failure to be reappointed is not discreditable, in the ordinary acceptance of the word."

The twenty-fifth President of the United States is the head of the Government of the latest, and last for a long time, of the Powers that, under the influences of modern movements, the wonders of our transportation, the universal diffusion of the news of the day, the equally marvelous revelations of the drills that penetrate the earth, as the telescopes reveal the mysteries of the skies, have expanded the earthly inheritance of man, and expanded into the foremost class of Great Nations.

At this state of American increase, when the problem of the slavery question, of labor involved, was solved by the sword, as we hope no other problem will need to be solved, two men became representative of our increase—William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. They represented the highest standard of value because it was the surest standard—the high protection by tariff of labor—for it is labor that is the creative source of capital and civilization itself. The common sense wisdom of all the peoples who have the capacity of organization, has comprehended the necessity of protection of our

men of labor from the competition of those who are not of us, pay no part of the cost of our Government, do not help us to bear burdens, or we would, by the freedom of our markets, fail to understand the demand that we shall help those who aid us, care for those who make a bar of pig iron into fine steel and fashion it into costly implements, thereby producing value. We must assure to these producers a fair show of the profitableness by protecting the market from the people beyond our seas, or we shall cheapen labor and transfer the value of the skill of our own workingmen to other lands, while with it goes prosperity, that is the joint product of our united industries.

Profoundly did William McKinley, a boy of labor, a boy soldier who was a hero, a man of probity, who knew in the hard times of his childhood the need of protection, believe in the doctrine he lived to see in the law named for him. He was its champion and artificer. The prosperity he promised came to the people, and, his promises redeemed, glory awarded, became President of the United States, twice elected, was murdered by an anarchist, representing the ignorant and vindictive cruelty of utter barbarism. The murderer struck at all things, save black night and chaos.

All the winds that blow tell President Roosevelt what they bring him on their wings. He will not be false to any man. His mind is open to be read as his books. They have many merits, and before the rest is honesty. Whether his gaze was turned within or without, he told the truth of what he saw. His policy as President is not a mystery. His books are open. Each chapter tells the manner of man he is. When he states what Lincoln and Grant did, he places his models on exhibition. None of the history he has made was to advertise. There are facts, though, that will not be silent, but speak with a thousand tongues, as in his letter to the Mayor of New York on the night before the latest Presidential election, that startled like a trumpet's call to arms.

CHAPTER XXIX.

RELATIONS WITH GREAT NATIONS.

Presidential Courtesies and International Affairs—This Influence in Other Days—Germany and England Our Friends—Prince Henry of Prussia—His Visit and Speeches—Our Strength at Home and Abroad.

THE people of the United States, of all parties and persuasions, seem to be fairly well satisfied with their Constitution, and its improvements by amendment, and interpretations by the Courts and public opinion. The wisdom of the great instrument is that it secures substantially the execution of the popular will.

The majority of the inhabitants of the earth, savages or semi-civilized, enlightened or barbarous, occupations, those of agriculture, the mechanic arts, mining, transportation or commerce, whether dwellers upon the greater or lesser islands, or continents of either hemisphere, in whatever zone or climate, of the black, brown, yellow or white races, fishermen or hunters, rice or wheat, fruit or meat eaters, live under forms of government in which the people themselves consent to be governed by others than themselves; and we call such methods of governing, despotic. Their ways are not as our ways.

We of the United States believe, confidently, that we are of the Government, by and for ourselves, more intimately, intelligently, actually and profoundly, than the population of any other country are concerned as rulers, with their own business; and maintain that we are more Democratic and Republican, more at liberty, and, upon the whole, more populistic and orderly, and, at the same time, stronger for freedom and action in our widespread holdings of the earth, for the imperialism of liberty, than any other nation, great or small; yet we are not crusaders against the ways and means of government in other countries. It is not a part of our principle of the rule of the majority, to establish a perpetual propaganda against rulers of the majority of people and nations.

It is not especially the line of a good American citizen to be uncivil to those who officially represent and embody the monarchical governments. George Washington did not rebel especially against George III. His first commissions and uniforms were those signifying the favor of Governor

Dinwiddie, of Virginia, appointed by the King of England. Washington, in his youth, wore the British uniform, repeatedly serving as a British officer. We were more indebted to Benjamin Franklin than to any other man for the intervention of the Bourbon King of France, for the fleet and army that aided us essentially to capture Cornwallis and win our independence. Yet England, France and Spain desired and made joint effort to prevent us, by cutting down our land, from becoming a great nation. It was the wonderful work of our fathers that got the land for our broad foundations. The author of the Declaration of Independence was the Expander who planted our flag on the Pacific shore, buying the land Napoleon gained from Spain.

There has been a great deal of remark touching the civility President Roosevelt has shown the royalties. He did it fairly as our representative. Benjamin Franklin was a favorite of the Court of France. Thomas Jefferson was a power in Paris. Lafayette was an aristocrat. Monroe did not heedlessly offend the French Revolutionists, but was for a time the only foreign minister in France, and saved the wife of Lafayette from the guillotine, through the courage and address of Mrs. Monroe, the daughter of a British officer.

General Jackson hated a red coat. Jefferson loved a red waistcoat. Jackson's successor, President Van Buren's son, danced with Queen Victoria, and was so brilliant a courtier the title of "Prince John" was conferred upon him. It was the friendly and kindly relations of the British Court with James Buchanan that caused the visit of the Prince of Wales to this country. There was a striking sympathetic geniality between the chiefs of the Southern Confederacy and those of the British Empire. The father of the King of England remembered the reception in this country of his oldest son, and for the Queen revised, in the interest of peace, the hostile note of the British Cabinet in the Trent case.

General Grant, when President, received with distinguished consideration the Emperor of Brazil, and after he was President accepted the hospitalities of the glittering courts of Europe and Asia. The Grand Duke Alexis of Russia was received with open arms by our people. So was the Spanish Princess Eulalie who came to grace the White City of the Columbian celebration at Chicago. President Cleveland was not uncivil to the deposed Queen of Hawaii.

It has not been the custom of the country to insult the royalties, of any degree, who visit our shores. We have much to show them that is of interest to them. We are an object lesson it is well for them to study. King Kalakuana, of Hawaii, twice visited the United States, in 1875 and 1881, and suffered in health from excess of our hospitality.

It is worthy our remembrance, as we realize our own potentialities, that "the world is a neighborhood of nations." We hear from all great countries

every day. They hear from us. There are advantages in our better acquaintance. We do not fear any monarch or personage of whatever pomp or power. We have no apprehension of our perversion because monarchs are friendly, and make advances of friendship.

There has been a protracted discussion by the Emperors of the greater armed Nations, in which France has been little involved because her policy of expansion is not supported by surplus population, as to the part taken in the movement to form a coalition to prevent the United States from interfering with the Spanish colonial system of government, especially on the greater American island, Cuba. The war of our country with Spain was a revelation of resources, and gave us position as one of the World Powers. There has long been prevalent a consciousness in America that we had the high regard of Russia. She sold to us her American possessions for love rather than money. England was plainly our friend in the Spanish War. Germany was believed to have an ambition to participate in the possible division of the thousand islands of the Philippine Archipelago. If we are in any sense too far off and feeble to care for them, we had better turn them over to England and Germany.

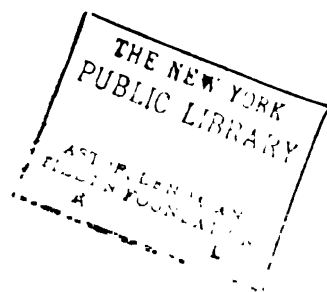
The diplomatic discussion abroad as to the stronger of our friends, is exceedingly interesting and important, for it proves the power of the world position we have obtained. Our belittlers at home seem very insignificant abroad.

President Roosevelt's message to Congress was high-toned throughout, and his treatment of foreign affairs most becoming in temper and dignified in expression of policy. It confirmed friendships the world around. The approaching coronation of the King of England has been respectfully regarded by him. A delegation of distinction to attend the ceremony was among the first appointed. This was not adulation of royalty, but called for in the polite intercourse of nations. The sincere esteem entertained for the Queen of England in this country was amply tested at her death. When President McKinley was murdered, the tributes to his memory were nowhere over our boundaries more earnest and appreciative than in England; and McKinley was mourned wherever there was civilization. The kindred blood of the Nations of English speaking people especially responded to the sentiments of the mourning countries.

It was at the New Year's reception of the Emperor William that he requested Ambassador White to ask the President to permit Miss Roosevelt to christen his yacht, then approaching completion near New York. The Emperor that day talked to eight Ambassadors, using the language of the country of each, and did not include in the count the Turk, to whom also he uttered "happy phrases." He was much pleased by the prompt and cordial



MISS ALICE ROOSEVELT



consent of the President that his daughter should christen the imperial yacht, and sent his brother to be his representative, and himself interpreted the act as the extension of a friendly hand.

The first opportunity Prince Henry had to return American hospitality, was on board the Hohenzollern after the christening of the Meteor. He had Mrs. Roosevelt on his right, and Miss Roosevelt on his left. Opposite the Prince sat the President, with the German Ambassador on his right and Admiral on his left. Here the Prince presented Miss Roosevelt with the portrait of the German Emperor, surrounded by diamonds on a bracelet of gold.

The Prince called on the Mayor of New York, and met Carl Schurz and General Sickles. He bowed to Schurz with a smile and shook Sickles' hand. Asked by one of the builders of the yacht whether he could send the Emperor a cable about the launch, the Prince said, "Send it, by all means. It will please him greatly." After the launch and glass of wine, the Prince called for "three hearty cheers for the President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt, hip, hip, hurrah!"

The President's return was: "I ask three cheers for the guest who has already won our hearts, Henry of Prussia. Now, a good one!" The applause was too quick for the President: "Hip, hip, hurrah!" Then there were three cheers for Miss Roosevelt. The Prince was startled by the American climax in cheering of "tiger."

The Mayor of New York opened the felicitous reception of the Prince with a proclamation announcing his arrival, saying: "In view of these interesting events, I call upon the citizens to treat the day as a gala day, by displaying the national flag from houses and stores."

Miss Roosevelt sent "His Majesty, the Emperor, Berlin, Germany," this dispatch: "The Meteor has been successfully launched. I congratulate you and I thank you for your courtesy to me and send you my best wishes.

"(Signed)

ALICE LEE ROOSEVELT."

The genuine girlishness of this dispatch delighted the Emperor.

Miss Roosevelt acted her part in christening the Meteor with the charming earnestness of both child and woman. Her words were, "In the name of the Emperor of Germany, I christen thee Meteor." She was at once handed by the Prince an enormous bouquet of American beauty roses, and "beamed her thanks."

At the splendid banquet given by the "Captains of Industry," the Prince pledged them, and called them "captains." The Prince is said to have particularly pumped questions as fast as they could be answered, to the Rockefellers, Schwab, Griscom and Morgan. He was so interested in the talk of the Great

Captains, that as there was an hour and a half for sight seeing, he said: "If it will not interfere with anybody's arrangements but mine, let us stay here."

Whenever there was an opportunity to be cordial to men he met, the Prince improved it. He insisted that the old skipper, Richter, should go with him to the christening; and when the skipper shook his head, the Prince said: "Come on, I insist, you must come," and had his way. After the boat was afloat, the Prince reached his hand to the German Ambassador with the words: "Kommen Sie here, Ich muss ein Schreibepult haben," being: "Come, I must have a writing table."

The Prince caught up a pencil and a bit of paper. Playfully swinging the grave Ambassador around, he slapped the paper against his broad back and wrote this dispatch to his Imperial brother:

"Yacht launched by Miss Roosevelt's hand. Beautiful boat, great crowd and congratulations from every one. HEINRICH."

An inspired statement has been published by the German press. This statement says:

"The highest political circles are immensely pleased at the excellent course up to the present time of Prince Henry's visit. The conviction is entertained that these festive days will substantially contribute toward rendering the relations of the two countries permanently friendly, and especial delight is expressed at the cordiality of the personal intercourse between President Roosevelt and Prince Henry."

The Prince repeatedly displayed talent in saying pleasing things. His good fellowship was continually manifest. When received in the Alderman's chamber, the Prince made his first speech, saying:

"Mr. Mayor: I am so grateful for the kind reception I find here in the House, as well as for the very kind words you express on this occasion. I am fully aware of the fact that it is an exception that a member, certainly of my family, should have been offered the freedom of the city New York. I may add that I am proud of it.

"It is the first city which so many of the old world, going over to the new world, meet and see. It is a city which has been an asylum for many of my countrymen. It is, I am aware of the fact, the centre and a centre of commerce. I was deeply touched by the reception which I found on the day of my arrival, as well as to-day when I drove up to the City Hall.

"All of you know perfectly well that I am not here on my own behalf, but that I am here on behalf of His Majesty, the German Emperor, my beloved brother and sovereign. [Great applause.]

"I am sorry I cannot repay you for all the kindness I have found here, but I think I am quite safe in saying that I may offer you the friendship of His Majesty, the German Emperor, [more applause], and I agree with you,

Mr. Mayor, if I may say it, that I have not come here to create a friendship, but to carry on the old friendship, which has existed between our two nations [applause], and which I hope may remain the same in the future. [Great applause.]

"I wish to thank you once more and conclude with my heartfelt thanks for the kindness and for your offering me the freedom of the City of New York. I wish to add that I wish for the City of New York everything which is good for the future—every possible good wish for your city."

At the dinner given at the Waldorf Hotel, to the Prince and the Press, by the Staats Zeitung, the guest of honor said:

"Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen: I am fully aware of the fact that I am the guest and in the presence of the representatives of the Press of the United States, and in particular the guest of the 'New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung,' both of which I wish to thank for the kind invitation and reception I have met with to-night.

"Before entering into details, I should like all of you to understand that I consider this meeting, though it may be looked upon as official, as a private one, and that it is my wish that none of you will take advantage of what is said or spoken after leaving this table.

"Undoubtedly the Press of our day is a factor, if not a power, which may not be neglected, and which I should like to compare with ever so many submarine mines, which blow up in many cases in the most unexpected manner; but your own naval history teaches us not to mind mines, should they ever be in our way. The language used on this memorable occasion was stronger than ever I would venture to reproduce here to-night. I need only mention the name of Farragut. Another comparison might be more to your taste, gentlemen, and is, in fact, more complimentary; it is one which His Majesty the Emperor used before I left. He said: 'You will meet many members of the Press, and I wish you, therefore, to keep in mind that the Press men in the United States rank almost with my generals in command.'

"It will interest you, I know, to learn something about the nature of my mission to this country. The facts are as follows: His Majesty the Emperor has minutely studied the recent and rapid development of the United States, and His Majesty is well aware of the fact that yours is a fast moving nation. His sending me to this country may therefore be looked upon as an act of friendship and courtesy, with the one desire of promoting friendlier relations between Germany and the United States. Should you be willing to grasp a proffered hand, you will find such a one on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean."

It was noticed that this speech was in part read by the Prince, and it bears in several passages the imprint of the German Emperor, who has had much

to say of the pleasure the reception of the Prince has given him. This is made the more important and emphatic, because it has been directly explained that the Prince is receiving honors for the Emperor. Officially, the German Emperor has called on us.

There was a certain curvature in the phrase of the Prince in which he referred to submarine mines, and compared them to the Press, and quoted Farragut, who used language too strong to be ventured. Unquestionably, the Emperor knew the character of the Staats-Zeitung Press dinner to the Prince. Acceptance of the invitation was cabled from Berlin, when the Emperor gave the final orders. The compliment and the criticism go together, distinctly imperial. The Emperor not only desired, but commanded, that his brother should speak for him in this country, and gave the utmost publicity to the fact, and the message to the country. He authorized the extension of the hand of the Emperor. It is a strong hand. It has been grasped by another strong hand.

The first President to go to the White House with a young family is Theodore Roosevelt, and his eldest daughter had just reached the age, as Congress assembled, when, according to usage, she should be introduced to society. The debut of Miss Roosevelt was one of studied simplicity; such a domestic incident as touches the hearts of parents with tenderness, and gives sanctity to families, as the young feet are beautiful with the grace of glad tidings, on the paths where the early dawn of young womanhood shines, and the sweetest chapter of life is the pathos of destiny. The question whether the President would decline to allow his daughter to go to the coronation of King Edward VII., has been raised and discussed. The vote of many fathers and mothers would be in favor of the daughter receiving permission to go, for she would be no less an American woman for witnessing the pageants of royalty, but the objection that could not be overcome was the difficulty of escaping the presumption of rank, and avoiding ceremonies and attentions implying too much formal recognition. If the President's daughter attended the coronation of Edward VII., the embarrassment of invitations to go further and receive royal and imperial hospitality, was foreseen, and the decision seems to have been that the one way to avoid formal complication was that the young lady could not go freely as any other young American lady might.

The most notable of the Imperial rulers of the world is the German Emperor. He has overcome the youthfulness that offended, and his maturity is one of splendid forcefulness. The only harm of it seems to be that he takes himself and his mission as an Emperor seriously. Once the current complaint was that he believed in his office and made too many speeches, but for some years the speaking has been of a memorable character. His mastery of the literature and history of his country, and felicitous use of his knowledge, have



CHRISTENING OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S YACHT AT SHOOTER'S ISLAND, N. Y. HARBOR, FEB. 25, 1902

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aroused the pride of Germans in the Emperor, and he has kindled German sentiment and the traditions of fatherland glory. He loved his grandmother, Queen Victoria, but he is in no way subordinated to the imperialism of England. He is a lover of yachts, and as we win all of the yacht races from the English, he had a yacht built in this country, and asked whether the President's daughter might not christen his new boat "Meteor." The President said yes, and it would have been churlish to say no. The Emperor paid our country the greatest compliment in his power, and has followed it up. Our people have responded to it. They found the Prince an individual of pleasing personal qualities. He is a man whose hands have been taught labor, and is expert in his profession. The Princes of Germany have to learn trades as a part of education. The President's toast to the Prince as a heart-winner was true, and the favor with which it was received, the unusual energy with which the sentiment was cheered, told the story of a better understanding between two great Nations. Both are influences for the general good. The manliness of the prince, the kindness, the self-respect and the personal good will of mankind, the sincerity of manner, the good sense, his good humor in responding to greetings, the hardihood of the Prussian Prince, in going through with a severe task have made a happy impression on the American people. He will be long remembered with respect and quoted with approval.

The German Emperor indicates his sagacity and statesmanship, in the last words of the Prince at the Press banquet, which was far more important than any other of the banquets. The words of the Prince were "Should you be willing to grasp a proffered hand, you will find such a one on the other side of the Atlantic." This was not given expression until the greeting of the Prince by Americans had manifested that public opinion was in full force behind the splendid courtesies.

The politics of Europe give to the journey of the Prince of Prussia the force of an imperial diplomatic function. The Triple Alliance is not of moment now, for Germany's position in Central Europe is secure, and she is searching other continents and islands, to increase trade and expand colonization. It is within one decade that the magnitude of Germany in the world has been realized; and in the same years our country has established the fact that she possesses the greater and better part of the continent with surpassing resources, and secured the primacy among the living and growing Nations, in the greater ocean of the globe, where there is no occasion for contention among the World Powers.

Prince Henry saw our climate at its worst. There were weeks of hard winter, intermingled with tempests of rain, snow, sleet and violent gales. There were vast accumulations of ice, floods in enormous rivers, blizzards on the plains, cloud bursts in the mountains; and our railway system, far exceeding

any other that exists, was put to the proof and found secure. Such a journey as the Prince made here in three weeks would have carried him through Western Europe and included Moscow and Constantinople. It was plain the Prince would be a mark for the anarchists, and the evidence was given that we can keep order and protect public men from assassins, unless in careless confidence we forget.

When the German Emperor knew his brother was on the sea homeward bound, he telegraphed the President renewed assurances of his distinguished consideration, reiterating his high estimate of the success of the American mission; and the President responded with appropriate congratulation and excellent understanding, with taste and tact manfully and heartily with personal pleasure and official dignity.

The first impressions of our German citizens were not altogether favorable to the call of the Prince of Prussia. There is a good deal of Germany that is not Prussia, but the German Emperor has won his way with the Germans. Prince Henry, as the President said, won the hearts of the people. Those of German blood were gratified that the man was the representative, not only of the Empire but of the race. The German Emperor's proffered hand was with good will taken on both sides of the ocean.

The interest taken in the Prince of Prussia by the American people, has been without the appearance of a line of distinction between those of German and other races in Americanism. Our immense indebtedness to Germans in the formation of the character of the people at large, is indisputable. It has made way for liberty. The last meeting of the President with the Prince in Washington, was in front of the German Embassy, after a horseback ride of an hour and a half in the rain. When the Prince dismounted, the President saluted, saying, "Good-bye, my friend," and spurring his horse, warm with hard work, galloped away. The last words by both men were "my friend." They are good words, and will be made good. The civility of the President has influenced the international affairs of the Nations of the earth, for it has signalized and established the friendship for us of two Nations—the one with the greatest Army and the other with the greatest Navy the world ever saw. This comes to us because we are ourselves a World Power.

CHAPTER XXX.

BEYOND THE OCEANS.

They Bind Us No More—We Gather the Islands of the Seas—Our Flag Flies from Zone to Zone—Raised in Honor, It Will Stay Where It Shines; Never Descend to Dishonor—Is the President a Candidate for a Full Term?

THE strength of the position of the United States rests largely in the knowledge of the great powers throughout the world that there will be no backward step taken by Theodore Roosevelt in the progressive Duty of Destiny policy. This President McKinley immensely broadened and advanced. He could not have been persuaded or coerced by any forces, within or without our country into a war that he did not believe to be a war of honor and humanity. He was beset first by those who wanted a war for the conquest of Cuba from the Spaniards; and he was belabored because he did not accept the Key West Bureau output of dispatches of fiction as history. He knew we were fearfully and wonderfully unprepared for war when the Maine was blown up, and temporized that we might get ready our ships of war, and his common sense supported him through storms of malicious invective. He bore the burdens of a giant, and did it heroically, closing the war in victory, before the military experts thought the campaign could be opened.

Because we did not surrender to treason, fraud and murderous barbarism, in the Philippines, he was charged with all that was shameless and scandalous in unholy crusades, undertaken absolutely for imperial ambition. The cry of the weaklings and belittlers in our midst, the cranks who have assailed American growth from the beginning, that we were warring against liberty and trampling upon the Declaration of Independence, was incessant, and in some parts of the country acutely maniacal. It was, however, plain to all enlightened people, that this country was accepting Destiny as a Duty, and that we must be gainers by the victories that gave influence as one of the Great Nations. The fact that this was coming had for a generation been in the air, and that it had come was demonstrated at Manila, and Santiago, as clearly as the glory Nelson won for England on the coast of Egypt and Spain, gave to her armaments the power commanding the seas.

The message to Congress by Theodore Roosevelt was a proclamation to the people and Nations of the earth, that the Great North American Republic

was as certain to hold her Three Archipelagoes in the Pacific as her three States bounded on the West by that ocean, over which the Nation goes on the course of Empire broad and luminous.

The pusillanimous outcry against President McKinley for his acceptance of the expansion, that wronged none and was good for all, may have touched his kindly heart with sorrow, that enmity should be so ignominious, but so tranquil was he in serene strength, that his heart was never agitated by resentment.

Theodore R osevelt disdains the degenerate American impoverishment of blood, that would have confined the Great Nation, not trans-continental, to the one of the ocean shores that confronts Europe. The life of President Roosevelt has been full of activity, and his books of history and State papers are proof that he is an American of Americans, and believes in the policy of adding to the land of the people, no matter what islands of the seas drift to us, or what sea or zone contains them.

There is no clearer certainty that Roosevelt will go on with the McKinley policy of expansion, not only "absolutely unbroken" but extended, than there is that the people of the United States will approve the policy prolonged and augmented. We have not concluded that the world has no more land for our possession. William H. Seward is the statesman to whom we are indebted for the acquisition of Alaska and the Aleutian islands. He had the far-sighted sagacity to have compiled an official publication looking to educating the people, to take advantage of the inclination of the Danes to part with their American islands, not only in the West Indies, but to include Iceland and Greenland, but our public opinion was for a time ridiculously against the purchase of Alaska.

The fisheries of Iceland are equal to those around Newfoundland, and Greenland will yet be subjected, by the aid of modern improvements of exploration and assimilation, to the delivery of her resources to the education and occupation of mankind. There is no land or sea so frozen, and none too hot, to lack substance for usefulness. All the ridicule that could be poured out on the annexation of Greenland and Iceland to our dominions, was engaged in attempts to discredit the purchase of Alaska, and the same spirit of detraction of the gigantic and adoration of insignificance, has been manifest whenever the Nation added to its stature.

We have within a few months noted, in the current history of the world, the testimony that our accession in America of self appreciation is not esteemed abroad an effusion of vanity, but accepted as a reasonable assertion of self respect. We have been subject to the distinguished consideration of the warrior and statesman who is the artificer in chief of the modern appearance of Japan as one of the great and enlightened Nations. There is one mighty

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PRINCE HENRY'S ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON, SECRETARY HAY IN THE BACKGROUND

Empire with which we are not likely, until centuries to come are gone, to be in competition to cause friction generating heat. We refer to Russia. That Empire has a new ally in France. The two are one in diplomacy outside Europe, because they have nothing so clearly in common that there can readily be policies in conflict.

When we have named Russia and France, England and Germany, there are no other powers so important that we can classify them with ourselves, and there is a qualification to make in regard to France. It is remarkable that while Germany and England have antagonisms, they are bestowing upon us marks of good understanding and high estimation. England and Germany are the powers that compete with us in seeking markets for manufactures, and we find them on the coasts of Asia and South America. England was our friend in the war with Spain, and so was Germany, though she had an admiral at Manila whose tentative policy was too enterprising. The exchange of courtesies between England and the United States has been constant and sincere for several years, and there has been no show of the continuance of the aggregation of former irritations. Now it happens that the special United States Embassy to the coronation of King Edward VII. will be at the front and head of the representatives of the powers, and we have with us those who weep that this is so, and, indeed, sorrow over England's friendly offices.

We have so many chances to come in contact with German adventures and expansiveness, that there has been an occasional rub expressive of a certain rivalry, but evidently we are growing in the opinion of the greater armed Nation of modern times. The occasion of the launching of a royal German yacht in an American shipyard, is attended by an exchange of cables between the German Emperor and the American President, of a character that partakes of mutual admiration; and the Emperor's brother, the German Admiral, with others of great distinction, visit us, while the President personally participates in honoring the visitors from Germany, who are to be personages of the highest representative quality in the Empire, with the exception only of the Emperor.

The White House has not often been an object of interest so great as at present, from standpoints beyond seas. The exceedingly strong character, wide and elevated purposes, clearly made out and resolutely held policies of the President, is history that is fascinating as a romance, his personality that is of the highest type of public integrity, his peculiar power and candor surpassing that of Bismarck, whose keenest weapon in statesmanship was truth, commands consideration unusual in all the capitals of the Nations and centralizations of the people, no less in South America and Asia than in Europe.

The prominence of the principles of the Administration, upon which it is certain the President will proceed with unfaltering steps, attracts extraordinary attention by all observers representative of governments or the governed.

Even the misapprehensions abroad about the Roosevelt Administration are exaggerations of that which is the executive Americanism representative and characteristic.

First comes the confirmation of expansion; second, the urgency of the capacities of the Government, that we shall enter upon tasks more imposing and calling for greater outlay and more extensive views of that which is to come; third, to ignore the race, sectional and colonial issues, so far as there are the conditions of prejudice involved, and outgrow the weaknesses of sentiment as it has put aside timidity in making impression according to insight upon the affairs international.

These matters are so prominent, that the course of the country has ceased to be an uncertainty. The paths we are to traverse are high roads. We are for reciprocity, as that policy was declared by the President and Vice-President on September 2nd and 5th, 1901. The meaning is that we want for the creative labor in our shops the markets abroad, as we have at home; and that the productive labor in the fields shall enter upon equality of protection, and altogether maintain hand in hand the pre-eminence of the farmers with the mechanics. If there are industrial wars, they will be confined to peaceable methods, and we have the advantage of the richest of the continents, and the most accomplished artisans.

Reciprocity is for the farmers as well as the manufacturers, to confirm protection with the expansion of commerce. We have a home policy for the augmentation of the area of our fertile lands, making the thousand streams that flow from the Rockies, with the artesian and wind mill wells. We shall have States fat as irrigated Egypt at the feet of our mountains, that the winters heap with vast reservoirs of snows, that the summer suns may send forth the waters to redeem the deserts. At the same time, we are to save the forests, and restore them where the wild fires have scathed the lands to be made prosperous, if we can join with the bounties of nature the arts of science and the wisdom of manhood that have pushed forward our boundaries, to give the living waters of our greater mountain range in the heart of our country, to the soil that was fire-swept until the principle of life was scorched away.

That we should join to this home work the patronage of the Government, given by those who go forth in ships to carry our commerce under our flag—this is the logic of the growth of the Nation, and there goes with it, in the Pacific Ocean, cables to unite us with the islands that are ours forever—*islands* that are the citadels that command the sunset gates, that are to be open doors for us. Relevant to this and expressive of it, is the Isthmian canal, with which we shall presently provide a channel for commerce by the route of the two Mediterranean oceans—that between Africa and Europe, and that between the two Americas—circumnavigating the globe, where the winds blow out of the

morning into the sunsets on the tropical seas, and "our flag is still there" in "the dawn's early light," and "the twilight's last gleaming," with purple and gold—and the lands and seas where it waves, are free.

American citizens who visited Cuba before the Spanish War—the real citizens of the United States, not the Key West product, the purpose of whom was to be protected by the United States in hostility to Spain—were in the time of Weyler impressed with the magnetic attractive influence of the great Northern Republic. The most important Cubans, not personally engaged in the guerrilla skirmishing, and the cane mill burning, hoped to be "somehow taken under the wing of the United States." We refer to the business men, not to the politicians, whose desire was to succeed the Spaniards as the ruling class of the island. The prevalent business idea was that there was liberty and safety with certainty only under the flag of the United States. The gigantic mass of the "Northern Republic" could be felt across the narrow dividing waters. No one felt it more strongly than the Spaniards, and the mad men who blew up the Maine, and were themselves blown across the seas. Then happened the event that the Americans had often seen in their dreams—the stars and stripes floated from the scarred and stained tower of the Morro Castle; and Cuba has become one of the problems.

At the head of the volunteers of our army of invasion of Cuba, was Theodore Roosevelt, supposed, according to professional standards, to know nothing about war, but as turned out "a very apt scholar," and he knew not only how to get there, but how and when to get away; and he saved more in retreating from the Yellow Fever, than in the advance under the visible death sleet of the smokeless rifles of the Spaniards. The probability is that if Roosevelt had been in the War Department instead of that of the Navy, our Regulars would have landed in Cuba with smokeless powder cartridges for our magazine rifles; but in that case Dewey would have had but a short supply of ammunition, and the men behind the guns would not all have been trained marksmen.

There are traditions in our country, represented to excess in Congress, that the Executive Power in our form of Government should be reduced rather than expanded, and the duty of limitation that the country shall be equipped chiefly with flint lock smooth bores, is one a considerable class of Congressmen feel they have sworn to take upon themselves. Very often we are told a President of the United States should not be eligible to re-election. However, when the people want it, they can limit Presidential terms to one, as they have to two terms. The real beauty and strength of our Government is that when the people have a want they know it and can find the way, and the Constitution glows the stronger for the unwritten articles. The Constitution will hardly ever be so amended, that a President succeeding a President dying in office,

shall be made ineligible. We give our Presidents vast powers because they are ours to give, and the givers can take away.

James G. Blaine thought if there was any amendment respecting Presidential terms, that the term of office should be the same as that of a Congressman, and that if we were called upon to elect a President every two years, there would be a reduction of the volume of excitement, and the incentives of disturbance.

Within a few weeks of Theodore Roosevelt's accession to the great office, there were reports that have not been contradicted, to the effect that he stated without hesitation or reserve which was his way if he stated it, that he would consider it a great honor to be elected President of the United States. Whether the President said it or not, it was a true and proper thing to say. It would be an unprecedented honor if Theodore Roosevelt should be elected President in 1904—one hundred years from the re-election of Thomas Jefferson.

Already it is clear if Roosevelt is a Presidential candidate, his ways are his own, and it is himself who is in the field, just as he was when Governor of New York and is now. If the people give him another term, it will be as plain to them for whom and what they are voting, as when the majority re-elected Andrew Jackson. That which Theodore Roosevelt says is precisely as intelligible as what he does. Whatever is his following, his leadership is his own. He is a man of principles, but he does not follow fashions, if fashion is imitation. If he had been a common Presidential candidate, he would have been at pains to dull the edge of the Civil Service Reform reaping hooks, and to cultivate the politicians accustomed to a peculiar deference of the States that do not by any chance cast Republican electoral votes; but are on hand with full force when National Conventions meet and know where the corn cribs are. If he had been playing to the galleries, he would not have invited a black man to luncheon, or have been cordial in the reception of royal German courtesies. His civilities to the German Emperor and the British King, would have been perfunctory, and not with the "By George, I am glad to see you," that has the Montana breeze in it. If he had been seeking the Clan-na-Gael dynamite influence, he would have had an unparalleled opportunity to insult the descendant of the Georges, in repelling the invitation to an American deputation to attend the coronation of Edward VII.; and wild horses could not have drawn from him permission for his daughter to christen the Kaiser's yacht, and to go with her aunt to witness the pageantry of putting a glittering "bauble" on a king's head. If the President had been going "into the swim" as a candidate for President, he knew exactly the feeling of the people of the United States, of all parties and sections, that Admiral Schley was and is the hero of the Santiago naval battle; and that Sampson, brilliant officer as he was, and invalid as he became, was as innocent of the destruction of Cervera's fleet as the King of England was of the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, because Wellington served under

him. The President could have had a stormy ovation of approbation, music in the ears of a candidate for the great office, by simply agreeing with the Presiding Officer of the Naval Court, dissenting from the opinion; but the President consents to nothing more than in his own conviction is mere justice, and he has all along a grim way of staying with his friends, as Grant did when his friends were "under fire," as he called it.

'After all, we must love a man who likes the fire when his friends are in it.

Two years from the Spring of 1902, the believers in the Great Republic, the World Power—the friends of Expansion, Protection, Reciprocity, Fair Play, readiness for war as a peace measure, the honor, glory and splendor of the Army and Navy, with power added by the discipline, equipment and instruction of the troops and the construction of war ships to assert our sea power, for an Isthmian canal as a highway for our Navy and spread of our commerce; for the redemption of the heart of the continent from a cancer; for the discipline of the Civil Service; for the justice of wisdom and the victories of peace in the work shops, and the equal rights of men of labor and men of capital, and for the equalities in taxation, the elevation of work and the preservation of property—the ceaseless labors of energetic manhood—those to whom high qualities and many accomplishments are attractive, and good works well done are a recommendation; if the embodiment of independence and of Americanism has filled the great place with the success that attended him and the growth he has shown, has been a distinction in his career has continued; if a candidacy that has appealed to deeds courageous and noble, instead of the weaknesses and complacencies and subserviencies that cause our public life to represent the facile and uncertain, the evasive, faltering elements, and the country cares for the progressive continuance of great things—why, we may, with confidence, forecast another unanimous nomination of President, and an election that will be a triumph of majorities in all the sections of the country, a continuance of our prosperities, and the assurance of statesmanship worthy that of which our National magnificence is the matchless expression.

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